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MONOGRAPHS DEVOTED TO THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE

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OF

Germany and America

EDITOR

EDWIN MILLER FOGEL

University of Pennsylvania

(*See List at the End of the Book*)

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UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE GERMAN DRAMA IN ENGLISH ON THE PHILADELPHIA STAGE FROM 1794 TO 1830

BY
CHARLES F. BREDE

A THESIS
PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

7.1 34

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By Charles Frederic Brede

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To My Wife

IN APPRECIATION OF HER HELPFUL INTEREST
AND ENCOURAGEMENT

380107

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PREFACE.

The material for this study was collected before 1905 when the author contributed to the Schiller number of the GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS the article "Schiller on the Philadelphia Stage to the Year 1830." Parts of this larger work appeared in the GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS in 1912, and subsequently. It is a pleasure to note that others have followed in the same field and have compiled similar material for other cities. The Shakespeare plays are listed for the sake of comparison, and so to a limited extent are the plays of French origin. Moreover the repertoire of the leading Shakespeare actors included a number of German plays. The reason for the general description of theatre conditions in Philadelphia and of the various theatres there is given in the introductory remarks. What may appear as extraneous material is included on account of its general bearing on the subject. Following a general account of the theatre the work is divided into three periods: the first period, from 1749-1774 followed by an interregnum from 1774-1782 during the British occupation; the second period, from 1782-1794, the year of the opening of the first Chestnut Street Theatre; the third period from 1794-1830. On page 158 and other places a concluding chapter is referred to, but was omitted and will appear later in a more elaborate form in connection with a complete list of all plays at all the theatres from 1794-1830. Among the many plays listed as of possible or partial German origin there are no doubt some which others will be able to identify more definitely, especially with the help of the clues given here. A list of errata follows; but one error requires explanation. On pages 52 and 62 it is assumed that in the English version and American stage version of Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm* (*The Disbanded Officer or the Baroness of Bruchsal*), the character of the Frenchman, Ricaut de la Marlinière, is omitted. This is incorrect and misleading. The character is not omitted altogether but is represented by Count Belair with a complete change of character in the English version, and this was still further modified to meet conditions in this country.*

The works consulted are all mentioned and credit given in the proper place, but the author wishes to acknowledge his in-

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debtedness to G. O. Seilhamer's History of the American Theatre 1732-1797, William B. Wood's Personal Recollections, William Dunlap's History of the American Theatre, Scott Holland Goodnight's Literature in American Magazines, Walter Sellier's Kotzebue in England, Ch. Rabany's Kotzebue, Sa Vie et son Temps and Frederick H. Wilkens' Early Influence of German Literature in America. It was indeed Wilkens' work which suggested this study to the author. The author desires to express his appreciation of the courtesies extended to him by the officials of the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Free Library of Philadelphia, and especially to Mr. Bunford Samuel of the Ridgway branch, where most of the material was collected from former Philadelphia papers.

In gratitude my last word belongs to the late Professor Marion D. Learned, who as friend and teacher freely gave counsel and encouragement.

Charles F. Brede.

*For a full discussion of the English version cf. pp. 14-15, Lessing in England 1767-1850, von Wilhelm Todt, Heidelberg, 1912. Englische Arbeiten. Herausgegeben von Levin L. Schücking, Jena.

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ERRATA.

For role read rôle wherever found. For Petruchio read Petrucchio. Page 9, place comma after 1828. Page 12, coffe read coffee. Page 13, place comma after Chapman. Page 15, Manfredt = Manfredi. Page 32, were = was. Page 34, Wools = Woods. Page 35, Westrag = Westray. Page 37, Mms. D. = Mme. Page 39, 1828 = before 1826. Page 44, Thearicals = Theatricals. Page 47, sentimnet = sentiment. Page 49, Royal Tyler = Royall T. Page 56, place comma after Morton. Page 59, from French = from the French. Page 62, 1809 = 1808. Note 16, 1796 = 1786. Page 63, thro = through. Page 73, Note 41 read For a discussion of the English version of Lovers' Vows cf. Sellier, p. 10. Pages 76, 79 and 121, Morry = Merry. Page 87, Richard II = Richard III. Page 94, La Foret Noire = La Forêt Noire. Page 96, 1812 = 1802. Page 110, place comma after Imogen. Page 114, 1913 = 1813. Page 116, place semicolon after French. Page 121, Richard II = Richard III. Page 127, last line, performance = first performance. Page 129, thus = this. Page 131, line 19, place semicolon after title rôle. Page 138, 1820-1821 = 1821-1822, and add cf. Olympic 1817-1818. Page 139, leave out (Dimond). Page 158, in regard to concluding chapter see Preface. Page 164, season = seasons. Page 166, place comma after January 22. Page 183, Birth Day = Birthday. Page 186, serious difficulty = a serious difficulty. Page 186, after Horse and the Widow change period to comma. Page 192, 1807 = 1809. Page 196, either = neither. Page 200, after Evenden place comma instead of dash. On last line place comma after January 29. To Shakespeare plays add *Coriolanus*, January 29, and read fourteen performances of twelve different plays. Page 204, These were = There were, Bandetti = Banditti. Page 210, as recitation = a recitation. Page 216, Line between Note 248 and 249 transfer to follow line 4. Page 221, an Englishman that = an Englishman who. Page 226, The Tort of Friendship = The Test of Friendship. Page 228, La Motte Fouque = Fouqué. Page 228, Note 266 with translations to = translations of. Page 235, as in the Museum, omit as; and one the value = on the value. Page 241, matinee = matinée. Fonqué = Fouqué. Page 253, To these must be adder = added. Page 262, Steinfust = Steinfurt. Page 262, Note 306, Der Kosak und der Frei willige = Freiwillige. Page 269, Fille mal Gardéé = Gardée. Page 285 and page 290, Louisa, Pothe = Louisa Rothe. Page 288, Notes 319 and 320, for Jackson Collection read Clothier Collection. Page 294, From you rock's = yon.

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THE GERMAN DRAMA IN ENGLISH

ON THE

PHILADELPHIA STAGE

During the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth, German plays in translation were frequently performed on the English stage in America. The theatres of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore and other cities not only supplemented their repertoire with German plays, but some seasons were dominated by such plays, and the German drama became a subject of discussion in American cities as well as in England.

To establish definitely the exact conditions, to gather from the files of the newspapers the announcements of the plays, and in many cases including the casts, to search for criticisms, to learn the attitude of the public as well as also of the actors themselves toward these German plays and toward German cultural elements in general, in short to measure the width, depth and force of one of the numerous cultural streams, which are mingling in the ebb and flow of American life and tending to produce a cultural level differing from that of any one of the many nationalities of the old country, is the task which finds expression in the following pages.

Down to the time of the Revolution, Philadelphia was the most important theatrical center in the colonies. After the Revolution the opposition to the theatre was maintained longer and was more persistent than in New York, and so Philadelphia

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receded somewhat as a first center, but still did not lose its independent place for more than a quarter of a century afterward, as may be inferred from a remark of Wood, who, speaking of his retirement as joint manager of the Chestnut Street Theatre in 1826, says: "Just before our separation a negotiation was opened by the powers behind the throne with the New York theatre, to effect such an arrangement as would have reduced our theatre to a mere tributary to New York, as it proved to be some years after."[1]

There was no one person in Philadelphia who filled the same position as William Dunlap did in New York. His plays, translations and adaptations were known and occasionally played, but as often ignored and English translations or those of Philadelphians or other Americans were used instead. Dunlap[2] refers incidentally in these words to the Philadelphia company: "Mr. Jefferson[3] engaged himself for Philadelphia where he and his wife remained in that permanent and highly respectable manner which seems to have been peculiarly the lot of the performers of that company." We are therefore justified in considering the Philadelphia stage as a more or less independent activity at least for the greater part of the period here covered.

The first German play on any stage in America was Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm,* performed in Charleston, S. C., February 18, 1795, the first on any New York stage was Schiller's *Räuber,* played May 14, 1795, and the first on any Philadelphia stage *Minna von Barnhelm,* which was played under the title of *The Disbanded Officer; or, the Baroness of Bruchsal,* June 17, 1796, and was an English adaptation by Johnstone.[4] . . .

This date, 1796, should be the point of departure for this study, if it concerned only the actual German plays performed on the Philadelphia stage, but as it aims to be a study of cultural

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[1] William B. Wood, *Personal Recollections,* Philadelphia, 1855, p. 333.

[2] *A History of the American Theatre,* William Dunlap, New York, 1832, p. 315. The time referred to is 1808.

[3] 1858, Grandfather of J. Jefferson, 1829-1905.

[4] *Early Influence of German Literature in America,* Frederick H. Wilkens. *Americana Germanica,* Vol. III, N. 2, 1899, p. 111. Cf. G. O. Seilhamer, *History of the American Theatre,* 1732-1797, Philadelphia, 1891. Cf., also *U. S. Gazette,* Philadelphia, 1796.

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influences, direct and indirect, a review of the theatre from its beginning is necessary, including a brief history of the various companies, the opposition they encountered, an account of the general conditions under which the plays were given, the attitude of Germans toward the theatre and the extent of their participation as actors or in any other capacity, such as leaders or members of the orchestra, even though the results may prove to be mostly of a negative character. The present investigation will extend to the season of 1829-1830 for all the theatres in Philadelphia.

A General Account of the Theatre in Philadelphia to 1794.

The first regular organized company played in New York in 1732 and was probably made up of professionals and amateurs, but had no direct effect on the subsequent development of the American stage. In 1749 Addison's *Cato* was performed in Philadelphia.[5] Of the early English strollers some records exist of the Murray and Kean Co. in 1749-1750; in Philadelphia they played in a warehouse belonging to Wm. Plumstead in King or Water Street between Pine and Lombard, the house is mentioned as still standing in 1849. Fourteen plays and eight farces are known to have been produced in New York before the arrival of the Hallams in 1752, and the repertoire of this Murray and Kean Co. shows the English stage at this time dominated by plays of Centlivre, Dryden, Farquhar, Addison, Otway, Cibber, Garrick, Fielding, Lillo and Congreve. There is only one direct translation from a foreign author, *The Distressed Mother,* translated by Philips from Racine's *Andromache.* This remained a favorite piece on the American stage for a long time. Lillo's *George Barnwell* (1731) was among those plays and continued to hold the stage beyond the limit of our period.

The Pilgrims had their "Mayflower," the Germans of Pennstyvania their "Concord" and the Hallams their "Charming Sally." Early in May, 1752, the ship "Charming Sally," captain Lee, set sail from England for America and carried as passen-

[5] John Smith's *Mss. Journal,* Sixth Month, 1749.

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gers the Hallams and their company, known afterwards as the American Company. Their repertoire did not materially differ from the one of the preceding strollers and consisted naturally of the pieces most popular on the London stage at the time and many of them continued to be played from 1752 to the time of the revolution.[6] The original Philadelphia company, the Murray and Kean Company, disbanded after the New York season of 1751 and reorganized in Virginia in 1752. The American company continued under the management of Hallam until his death, and later under that of Douglass, who had married Hallam's widow. His theatrical empire extended from Williamsburg, Va., to Newport, R. I. Overtures came from Philadelphia, then the first city of the land, with the suggestion that Mr. Hallam apply to Governor Hamilton for permission to open a theatre and that the application should be for liberty to play for a few nights. Notwithstanding petitions for the prohibition of "profane stage plays" permission was given for 24 plays with after-pieces "on condition that they offered nothing indecent and immoral, performed one night for the poor of the city, and gave security for all debts and contracts. Once within the walls they extended the boundary of their contest, not without opposition, until the whole city submitted to the invaders, and they became peaceable and good citizens, no longer living in sufferance or obliged to give bonds for their good behaviour."[7] The number of the plays was extended to 30, three each week for ten weeks, beginning with *Fair Penitent* (Rowe) and *Miss in her Teens* (Garrick), on April 15 to July, 1754. The theatre was now called the "New Theatre" but was the same building occupied in 1749-1750 by the Murray and Kean Company, namely, the warehouse mentioned above. In 1759 Douglass opened a second theatre in Philadelphia at the southwest corner of Vernon and South in Southern Liberties "Society Hill," which Dunlap mentions as being an ordinary wooden building afterwards changed into three dwelling houses. Up to this time the drama in Philadelphia had found a home only in temporary structures. In 1766 a building

[6] Seilhamer I., p. 29.
[7] Dunlap, p. 15.

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was erected for the purpose in Southwark, on South above Fourth, by Douglass, which remained the only theatre in Philadelphia until 1792, when the Chestnut Street house was erected for Wignell and Reinagle. This South street building was of wood with little or no ornament and in 1855 was used as a distillery, having the sign Y. P. M., *i. e.*, Young's Pure Malt.[8] The revolutionary struggle put an end for a time to all theatrical performances, the Provincial Congress, assembled in Philadelphia, having in 1774 recommended a suspension of all public amusements, and agreed to discountenance every species of extravagance and dissipation, gaming, cockfighting, exhibition of shows, plays and other expensive diversions and entertainments. The season at Charleston was the last work by the American Company before the Revolution, and the last performance by professional players in Philadelphia took place at the Southwark in September of 1774.[9] A company of English players would hardly be considered enthusiastic supporters of the American cause. The theatres closed and the players went to the West Indies. During the periods of the British occupation of Boston, New York and Philadelphia, British officers formed "Thespian Corps." In Boston Fanueil Hall was used by them as a theatre, in Philadelphia they used the Southwark theatre.

The year 1782 marks the beginning of the drama under the Republic, but the returning actors could not proceed at once to northern cities, but played for several years in Baltimore[10] and Annapolis. Pennsylvania had adopted the recommendation of Congress of 1778 and passed a law prohibiting the theatre altogether. This law was still in force in 1782 and was not repealed till March 2, 1789. The theatre in Southwark opened on March 9, 1789, for the first time since the Revolution under State authority. From 1782 to 1789 the theatre in Philadelphia was under the ban, and such plays as were given under difficulties and in disguise will be mentioned later. The theatre in 1789

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[8] Wood, p. 91.

[9] Seilhamer II.

[10] "Which was not only the home of actors and actresses, but it was the only city that produced them." Seilhamer II.

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is spoken of by an eye witness of the opening night as "presenting to the admiring eyes of Americans a spectacle which, for the style of its embellishment, far excelled anything known before, beyond all comparison superior in scenery, decorations, dresses and general splendor to that exhibited by Douglass; the theatre became a place of fashionable resort, and managers were successful beyond their most sanguine expectations."[11]

In consequence of a quarrel between the managers, Wignell succeeded in forming a partnership with Reinagle, a musician of the company, and made plans for a new theatre. Wignell went to England for players and returned in 1793, the year of the yellow fever, so that the opening in Philadelphia had to be postponed, and the company began in Annapolis. This new theatre was situated on the north side of Chestnut above Sixth and became known as the "New Theatre," the name previously applied to the first structure used by the Hallams in 1752. The Southwark theatre now came to be known as the "Old Theatre." The Chestnut street theatre was opened February 17, 1794, with the opera, *The Castle of Andalusia,*[12] and "the inhabitants alternately crowded both houses to survey the contest and judge between them. In comedy and opera the palm was generally given to the *'Old';* but the unrivalled powers of Mrs. Merry gave to the *'New'* the prize in tragedy."[13] The "New Theatre" had another attraction in the ballet dancing of Mr. Byrne and Mr. Wm. Francis from England.[14] The season of 1794 from September 22 to December 4, was the last season of the old company at the Southwark, this house having been in use 28 years. It was never permanently occupied after this, but was used from time to time by strolling companies and also for summer seasons by members of the Chestnut street company.[15] Hallam and the old company yielded the field of Philadelphia to the new company and withdrew to New York and finally sold out to

[11] *Mirror of Taste and Dramatic Censor* II, p. 101.

[12] Dunlap, p. 115.

[13] *Mirror of Taste* II, p. 104.

[14] Not the Francis of the Douglass company before the revolution. Cf. Seilhamer I, p. 123.

[15] Dunlap, p. 89.

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Wm. Dunlap, to whom Wilkens [16] has done full justice. It is of interest to note Dunlap's opinion of Wignell and the company in Philadelphia. "Wignell's talents and influence laid the foundation of that theatrical establishment in Philadelphia which flourished for many years more uniformly and with actors of more general estimation as citizens and artists than the rival institution in New York, which continued for some time longer to be called the 'Old American Company.' "[17]

From 1794 on for some years the Chestnut street theatre was practically the only theatre in Philadelphia and continued under the original management of Wignell and Reinagle, maintaining its early policy even after the death of Wignell. Mr. Wignell died the latter part of February, 1803, in the midst of a very successful season, and after an interval of a week, during which the theatre remained closed as a tribute of respect to Mr. Wignell's memory,[18] the theatre opened again under the management of Mrs. Wignell and Reinagle with the assistance of Messrs. Warren and Wood as acting managers. Wood [19] remarks that the labors of the stage management fell to his share. In 1809 Wood with the help of friends purchased one-half of Warren's interest in Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington theatres and assumed practically the complete active management in 1810. He withdrew from the management in 1826 but continued for some time as a member of the Chestnut street company. Later we find him for a short period manager of the Arch street theatre,[20] built in 1828 during its first season, and still later appearing now and then at all the existing theatres. He retired permanently from the stage on the occasion of the Farewell Benefit tendered him by his friends and admirers, Wednesday, November 18, 1846, at the Walnut street theatre.[21] After the retirement of Wood, Warren assumed the sole management and Cowell, formerly of the Walnut, became stage manager.

[16] Wilkens, p. 111 and ff.
[17] Dunlap.
[18] *Aurora*, 1803.
[19] Wood, p. 104.
[20] P. 352, where Wood mistakingly gives date 1827.
[21] P. 470.

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With the season of 1828 ended the activity of William Warren as a manager and it is impossible not to feel the pathos of his simple announcement which appeared in the papers on December 29, 1828: "On the first day of January the Theatre, Chestnut Street will be placed under the Management of Messrs. Pratt and Wemyss, who have become the leasers thereof and I shall have withdrawn from those relations with the public, which have existed for more than thirty-two years."[22] What the people generally thought of him may well be summed up in the statement which appeared on the day of his benefit, December 30, 1828: "During a residence of nearly half a century in our city Mr. Warren has become extensively and advantageously known, his liberality toward public charities and in cases of public calamities is a matter of notoriety, and in the relation of neighbor and friend he has won the respect of all who are acquainted with him."[23] The plays for the evening of his benefit were the *Merry Wives of Windsor* and the Romantic Drama *Illusion,* and in this connection appeared the announcement of an address by Mr. Warren, with the added remark that he would speak in the costume of Falstaff in order not to keep the audience waiting. The pathos of all this becomes clearer when we read Wood's[24] words: "And Warren himself found that his recent friends, who had got possession of everything he had, were now his insatiable and remorseless creditors. His fate, poor fellow, was very hard." It is therefore not surprising if Wood thought that the drama was "at sixes and sevens . . . permanence belonged now to nothing except failure, disorder and bankruptcy, the vitality of the theatre neither was or can be destroyed, but its action was irregular, spasmodic and disordered." Warren remained however a member of the company a short time as actor and when Mr. and Mrs. Wood returned to the Walnut street theatre in May, 1829, Mr. Warren—"now grown feeble and dispirited and with all his plans defeated, and his former amateur friends now represented by the sheriff in their place"—was also engaged

[22] *Philadelphia Gazette,* 1828.
[23] *Philadelphia Gazette,* 1828.
[24] Wood, p. 353.

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as a regular actor, later, at the Arch and again at the Chestnut, where he appeared for the last time in Philadelphia in the character of "Sir Robert Bramble" of *The Poor Gentleman* and "lingering in declining health and spirits in Baltimore he gave up life, clouded towards its close by many afflictions and cares."[25] The Wemyss and Pratt management was of short duration and on July 10, 1829, the "New Theatre," Chestnut Street, was offered again for lease.[26] It was opened again in October, 1829, under the management of Mr. Rowbotham and the season of 1829-1830 closed on March 21. A summer season under the management of Lewis T. Pratt followed in April lasting till July 21.

The theatre on Chestnut street was known from the beginning as the "New Theatre," but from 1814 different names appear in the announcements, simply "Theatre, Chestnut Street," in 1815 "New Theatre" alternates with "Philadelphia Theatre." In 1818 Ralf's *Philadelphia Gazette* prints "Theatre," while the *Aurora* prints "Philadelphia Theatre." In the announcement of the opening of the rebuilt theatre on Chestnut street in 1822, the company having in the meantime for two seasons played at the Walnut street house, the name "New Theatre" appears again, but reverts again to "Philadelphia Theatre"[27] in 1823, at least in Binn's *Democratic Press*. In 1824 the *National Gazette* prints "Philadelphia Theatre" and the *Aurora* "New Theatre." In 1826 the announcements read simply "Theatre" or "Theatre, Chestnut Street," but in the announcement of the lease on July 10, 1829, the form "New Theatre, Chestnut Street, Philadelphia" appears again. From this time on to 1830 inclusive the newspaper announcements are headed "Chestnut Street Theatre."

On April 2, 1820, during the absence of the company in Baltimore this theatre was destroyed by fire and in August of the same year plans were made to rebuild on the old site. In connection with an account of the fire given in Binn's *Democratic Press* on April 3, 1820, the following facts are given: "The Theatre, which was destroyed by fire on Sunday evening last

[25] Wood, p. 365.
[26] *American Sentinel*, 1829.
[27] This may be of interest to play bill collectors, since the name "Philadelphia Theatre" was applied to other theatres of the city at various times.

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was erected in 1792 and covered an area of 150 feet by 92. It consisted of stock divided into 93 shares, held at present by about 40 individuals. The original cost was $135,000; expensive improvements have been made in it every season since its erection."

The Walnut Street Theatre, still standing and used as a theatre at this date, and considered the oldest theatre now standing in America, was originally built as a circus in 1808. In 1812 it was opened also as a theatre under the name of "The Olympic Theatre," as appears from the announcement: "The public are respectfully informed, that the Olympic Theatre (late circus) being now furnished in a style of elegance never before equaled on the continent of America will open this evening January 1, with a grand display of horsemanship after which the celebrated Comedy of the *Rivals*."[28] At this house no consistent policy could be maintained, for it was alternately used by various companies. The combination of horsemanship, as the circus part was called, with plays continued in the autumn season of 1812, though under different managers, namely under Twaits and Breshard. The year 1813 was confined almost entirely to circus performances at irregular intervals, and in fact the house was sold by the sheriff on February 5, 1813. In 1814 it was occupied by Twait's Commonwealth Company till March 17, and on November 25, the following notice appeared: "On Tuesday evening 29th instant at 7 o'clock will be sold at the Merchant's Coffe House A certain Lot or Piece of Ground with all the buildings and improvements thereon erected consisting of what is called the Olympic Theatre. The lot continuing in front on Walnut Street 96 feet 6 inches, and on Ninth Street 140 feet, bounded eastward by ground now or late of Francis Johnstone, Esq., southward by Walnut Street and westward by Ninth Street. The Theatre and Buildings are of the best materials, and finished in the most splendid and safest style—considered as the handsomest and most extensive Theatre of the kind in the United States."

F. Montmarlin and S. Moses, Auctioneers.

[28] *U. S. Gazette*, 1812.

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In 1818, when it was still known as the Olympic Theatre, a coalition took place between Mr. Pepin and the Messrs. Caldwell and Entwistle, and under the latter's management it was opened April 16, 1818. Spectacles and melodramas were announced, "in which all the Horses will be actively employed." During 1818 and 1819 circus and pantomime seasons alternated with purely theatrical ones.[29] From 1820 to the autumn of 1822 the house was occupied by the Chestnut Street Company, their house having burned down on April 2, 1820, while the company was away from home, playing in Baltimore.[30] Before the Chestnut Street Company occupied the Walnut Street house, considerable changes were made, which no doubt had a great deal to do with making the Walnut eventually a regular theatre rather than a combination of circus and theatre.[31] At the close of the Chestnut Street Company's season of 1821-1822 at the Walnut street house, Warren & Wood sublet the latter to New York people and under changing management it continued as the home of an equestrian company until 1827, the name of Olympic varying with simply Circus. In 1827 it opened as "The Philadelphia Theatre"[32] under the management of Cowell. January 1, 1829, it opened under the new management of William Blake and was known from that time as the "Walnut." It passed under new management for the summer season of 1829, namely under Messrs. S. Chapman & John Greene, to change again in the fall to S. Chapman Greene and Edmonds in the form of "Dramatic

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[29] Cf., an announcement by Victor Pepin in the *Democratic Press*, August 19, 1818, in which he refers to the house having been erected by Pepin & Brechard and had cost inclusive of ground $100,000.

[30] Cf., p. 11 above.

[31] "The building formerly known as the Olympic Theatre has lately undergone a complete alteration and been converted into a splendid theatre. The ponderous dome has been entirely removed. The stage has been brought forward several feet. A pit has been erected, which for space and elegance has never been equalled in any theatre on the Continent at large and a convenient new door has been opened in Ninth Street. The Pit Lobby occupies all the space of the former Pit of the Olympic Theatre. The whole of the scenery, etc., was designed and executed by Messrs. H. Warren and T. Reinagle, aided by Messrs. R. Anners, Jos. Jefferson and J. Darley." Announcement in *U. S. Gazette*, 1820.

[32] Cf. Note 27. The Arch street house opened in 1828 was also known as the "Philadelphia Theatre." Libraries and individuals having old play bills should note the dates with a view to locate the right theatre.

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Republic," one of the features of which was "that all tradesmens' bills, small salaries and incidentals will be paid weekly; the balance of receipts will then be divided among the company." Toward the end of 1830 all announcements of plays at this theatre disappear from the papers, and there are indications, such as the lowering of prices a few weeks before, that the company was in difficulty. An announcement on February 19, that the theatre would open on the 20th, under the entire direction and management of Messrs. S. and W. Chapman leaves no doubt that there had been an intermission of about a month. After the sudden death of Mr. S. Chapman about May 16, 1830, Mr. W. Chapman became sole manager and is again announced as such for the season of 1830-1831. A critic of the day, while complimenting Mr. Chapman for his efforts, indicates a bad financial condition not only of the Walnut but of all the theatres, and in this agrees with the view of Wood referred to in connection with the Chestnut Street house.

The Arch Street theatre, still standing and used as a theatre, is situated on the North side of Arch Street between Sixth and Seventh. It was opened October 1, 1828, under the management of W. Wood, which he however relinquished, although the receipts were good, on account of "the disorderly and ill assorted company, whom he could not undertake to govern." The theatre was closed and alterations and improvements promised to any manager who would take the house. In the spring of 1829 Mr. A. J. Phillips became lessee and manager and announced a short season previous to the regular opening in September in a house "considered the most complete in the Union" and promised the "restoration of the drama to its original legitimacy." Mr. Phillips is spoken of by the *Sentinel* as "a native of this city, and has for some time past been studying the history of the Drama and has been able to discover to what cause its failure in this city is to be attributed." The theatre opened for the winter season on August 31, under Mr. Phillips and in the *Sentinel* is referred to as the "Philadelphia Theatre."[88]

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[88] Cf. Notes 27 and 32.

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Minor Theatres, Gardens, Halls, etc.

Besides the theatres mentioned, appear from time to time numerous Gardens, Halls and Museums, some of them rising to the dignity of regular theatres, especially after 1820 and continuing for several seasons. The announcements in the papers were irregular and it is quite possible that some theatrical performances have been missed in this enumeration.

"The Philadelphia Garden," announcements of which are frequent from 1813 to 1818, was situated at 828 Race, and was under the direction of Jos. Latarno. The entertainments were mostly confined to music by a "Grand Italian Band." "Admission on days of Music 12½ cents which is returnable in refreshments."

"Vauxhall Garden"[84] is described as situated on Broad below Walnut, the site of the late Lippincott Mansion. Until 1819 it seems to have been used only for concerts and general entertainments, "Admission on days of Music 50 cents, 25 cents returned in refreshments." In 1819 a stage was erected and under the name of "Pavilion Theatre" a number of plays were given. Accounts of a riot and arrests appear in 1821 and the announcement of a public sale of the Garden on March 27, 1822, by Thos. Passmore & Co., Auctioneers. It was reopened in 1824.

At "Columbia Garden," situated 461 Market street according to the papers, Manfredt & Co. are announced as engaged at the theatre June 9, 1813, by Messrs. Lawrence Astolfi & Co., owners, and performances of pantomimes, farces, etc., are promised. "Admission on Music days 25 cents half of which is restored in refreshments." Further announcements appear in 1819, and in 1820 the name changes to "Tivoli Garden," and the site is given on Market near Water Works; it was under the management of Stanislas. The theatre opened more regularly May 16, 1820, legerdemain and philosophical illustrations alternating with plays. October 10, 1820, Stanislas opened a "Tivoli Winter Theatre" on Prune street between Fifth and Sixth, where

[84] Cf., two interesting articles by "Penn" in the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin*, June 26 and 27, 1905, written at the time of the sale of the Lippincott Mansion.

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performances were given every evening. Summer seasons at the "Summer Garden," Market near Centre Square, and winter seasons at the "Tivoli Winter Theatre" alternated, and the latter came later to be known as the "Prune Street Theatre" and "City Theatre" under the management of Morrison and Porter in 1822-1823. In the fall of 1823 Williams, late of Boston, is mentioned as stage manager. After November 17, 1823, no further announcements appear of the "Prune Street or City Theatre." An additional season occurs however of the "Tivoli Garden" in 1824 and then it appears again as the "Pavilion Circus" (not to be confounded with the "Pavilion Theatre" mentioned above) in 1826 with numerous plays. Still later, evidently under different management, an announcement on July 9, 1826, reads: "Summer Theatre," formerly "Pavilion Circus." A reference appears as late as 1828 of a Circus, Market Street, which may have been the same.

A few scattered announcements appear in 1828 of a "Sans Pareil Theatre," Market Street, and judging from the fact that benefits are announced, it must have been running for some time.

Another Market Street theatre between Fourth and Fifth is mentioned in 1822, where performances seem to have been confined to rope and wire dancing and tumbling.

Under the heading "Saloon of Apollo," N. E. corner of Seventh and South, E. E. Warwick "informs lovers of Harmony that on August 31, 1822, Saturday, recommences his 'Free and Easy,' Mr. McClear original American Songs, sketches from Mathews' Mail Coach Adventures and other vocal talents." No regular plays or even farces seem to have been given. At another "Free and Easy" on Bank Street, at Burns' Tavern, no reference to any play or farce occurs.

"Washington Hall,"[35] mentioned in 1818, seems to have been the home for concerts, though a mechanical theatre is advertised in 1818, including Pantomimes. Other places, where at least short plays or farces were or may have been given were the

[35] An announcement of the proposed erection of Music Fund Hall (dimensions 110 by 60, corner stone laid May 25, 1824, finished December 1, 1824), "on the site of a church, lately occupied by the congregation of the Rev. Mr. Skinner," refers to the burning down of Washington Hall.

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"Mansion House" next to Washington Hall in 1818, "Masonic Hall" 1818, "Pennsylvania Museum" 1824, the "Washington Museum" 1824, the "Philadelphia Museum" 1824 and the "Columbian Theatre," Seventh and Chestnut, Signor Aparicio, 1824.

"La Fayette Vauxhall," of which a woodcut appears in Binn's *Democratic Press* July 30, 1826, and which is probably the same Vauxhall Garden mentioned before, shows announcements in 1824 and as late as 1827. Then there was the "La Fayette Theatre,"[36] of which the following announcement appears May 22, 1824: "The extensive Saloon South Fifth above Prune has been fitted up for Theatrical Performances to open May 25." Only a few plays are mentioned. At "The Philadelphia Labyrinth Garden," Arch and Broad, no plays are recorded.

Last to be mentioned is "Washington Circus" under the direction of Fogg and Stickney, situated on the Old York Road between Tammany and Green, Northern Liberties. During the early part of 1829 it was the home of circus and pantomime, and later it was reconstructed and changed from Circus to Theatre. A new stage was erected 50 feet deep and 70 feet wide and the Ring changed to Pit, seating 1200 persons.[37] Later in the season it is spoken of as "The Washington Amphitheatre." A winter season began in October, 1829, but no announcements appear, in the papers consulted, after July 10, 1830. On September first, 1830, an announcement appears in the *Daily Chronicle:* "The Washington Theatre, Old York Road, has been taken by a gentleman from New York. It is to be again converted into a circus and will be opened in about two weeks." In the meantime a company of amateurs appeared here for a few evenings during August and performed a German piece each night.

Opposition to Theatrical Performances.

The opposition was so much more determined and for a considerable time successful in Philadelphia, that a few words

[36] 1824 was the year of Lafayette's visit to Philadelphia. On August 18th a meeting was held in the State House Yard to arrange for his reception. Thomas Leiper in the chair, Mathew Carey, Secretary, and the meeting was addressed by Messrs. C. Biddle and E. S. Burd. Lafayette arrived August 21st.

[37] *American Sentinel,* June 10, 1829.

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are necessary to make its nature clear and to show the attitude of the German element of the population toward the theatre. The South was best fitted for the reception of the drama.[1] The Presbyterians of the New England provinces were opposed to any innovations upon the æscetic habits and particularly to the introduction of these "profane stage plays," which had been the delight of the Jacobite cavaliers, the enemies of their forefathers. New York, originally a Dutch province, retained much of the language and manners of that people and could only be considered as a resort after the southern provinces. But the Quakers of Philadelphia were the most insistent opponents of scenic representations. The French minister, Dr. Rayneval, writing in 1778, says in a letter, speaking of Congress:[2] "It is the northern members, called the Presbyterian party, that delight in passing moral laws, so as to keep their credit and vigor in full exercise. Such contests interfere with important business." Before the Revolution bills passed to prevent theatrical entertainments could be and were set aside by the King; but after the establishment of the republic each State was supreme, and so it came about that Philadelphia maintained its hostility much longer than any one of the other States. Opposition to the stage during the early period was however based not only on moral grounds but on political, for the actors were English and their sympathies were supposed to be on the side of British aggression. Even before the passage of the Stamp Act the strong republican sentiment, especially in New York, gave rise to attacks on the theatre. As early as 1766 the players, recognizing this difficulty, changed the name of the company to "The American Company," and it was not long before the company became the "American Company" in fact as well as in name, most of its members making this country their home. By far the greater number of actors were for years, even after the Revolution, recruited from England, yet the opposition to them as Englishmen was not manifested as much as might have been expected. Most of them, after returning from the West Indies, considered themselves as Americans,

[1] Dunlap, p. 12.
[2] Seilhamer, p. 49.

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and whether as a matter of policy or from conviction, they allowed their patriotic feelings to appear in the announcements and in the sentiments expressed in occasional addresses, prologues and epilogues. But when Seilhammer, to strengthen his statement in regard to their Americanism, adds, that at least one became a distinguished officer in the patriot army, he unintentionally weakens his point, for the actor referred to was Franzis Mentges of Menzius, a German or Hollander, of whom more will be said later.[3]

The Quakers were not only hostile to the theatre, but exercised great influence both in the municipal government and in that of the Province; the Presbyterians had, if possible, a greater terror of the "profane stage plays." The Baptist congregation of Philadelphia also were bitterly opposed to these plays and were instrumental in having a bill passed against theatrical entertainments in June, 1760, which was set aside by the King in Council in September of the same year. But these efforts against the theatre were not confined to the churches of entirely or partly English origin. In 1759 a petition from the ministers, church wardens and elders of the Lutheran German Congregation of Philadelphia was presented praying "that a law be enacted to prevent the building of a playhouse or theatre in or near the said city, which the petitioners hear is intended and already begun."[4] That this opposition on the part of German churchmen had not ceased as late as 1795 is evident from a statement in Bülow's letters as translated and published in the Port Folio of 1802.[5] After stating that the "Moravians have contributed most to the preservation of the German language in Pennsylvania," he continues: "the German Lutheran and Calvinistic churches are with respect to religion, about fifty years behind hand of Germany. Mr. ——, a Lutheran clergyman at Philadelphia, declared in print, that the yellow fever was a visitation of God to punish the admission of a company of stage players at Philadelphia, such a godless crew, never having been before tolerated there. Mr.

[3] Cf., p. 21 above, and pp. 37-38.
[4] Cf., p. 6 above.
[5] Port Folio, 1802, II, 31, p. 24.

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—— has too much understanding to believe this; but he knew what sort of people he had to deal with." Evidences are not lacking to show that the German element outside of the church bodies, at least during the early period, if not opposed to the theatre, were wholly indifferent to it. Later on we meet with some announcements which indicate an effort on the part of the management to attract the German element of the city, such as printing especial attractions in German characters or even in German, or announcing a song to be sung in German. Thus in 1807 appears an announcement of the Southwark theatre: "The Dutch Fisherman; or, a Scene in Holland," including a Lilliputian Frolic: "Der Zwergel Tantz," to conclude with the Magic chamber, "Das Schatten Spiel," etc., and later in the season is announced: "Die Alta Jungfer."

In the South society encouraged and patronized the theatre, but in the North the support came more from the middle classes. From the statement of Col. A. Graydon [6] we may infer that the theatre was considered beneath the dignity of refined society, for he seems to offer an apology for mentioning the subject: "A short time before the epoch of my becoming a student of law, the city was visited by a company of players, since styling themselves, The old American Company. They had for several years been exhibiting in the islands, and now returned to the continent in the view of dividing their time and labours between Philadelphia and New York. . . . This topic may be disgusting to persons of gravity; but human manners are my theme, as well in youth as in age. Each period has its playthings, and if the strollers of Thespis have not been thought beneath the dignity of Grecian history, this notice of the old American stagers may be granted to the levity of memoirs," and again: "Although the theatre must be admitted to be a stimulus to those vices which something inherent in our nature renders essential to the favored hero of the drama and the novel, it was yet useful to me in one respect. It induced me to open books which had hitherto lain neglected on the shelf. . . . I became a reader of plays,

[6] *The Memoirs of a Life Chiefly Spent in Pennsylvania,* Harrisburg, 1811.

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and particularly those of Shakespeare. . . . From these I passed to Otway and Rowe and then to poets of every description, the Henriade of Voltaire and the poems of Boileau." Complaining of the rapid promotion of an adjutant to be a major, he continues: "This adjutant was Mentjes, already spoken of as fencing master in Philadelphia, and who first appeared there in a less dignified character on the stage, a circumstance which rendered his preferment still more galling." Seilhamer cites that the notice of Mrs. Harmon's death in *Rivington's Gazette,* June 3, 1773, was the first obituary notice of an actress ever printed in an American newspaper, and that when Mrs. Morris was drowned in Kill von Kull, December, 1767, the papers reported the accident in the fewest possible words, adding, that the victim was "of the play house." These were the days when everybody connected with the play-house was apparently outside of the pale of respectable society.[7]

We have seen that Hallam and his company on their return from the West Indies after the Revolution could not get a foothold in Philadelphia at once. Petitions were started for the repeal of the law of 1782 and in 1784 there seemed some hope of success for the passing of the bill of repeal, which provided a tax on the theatre and the appointment of a superintendent to revise every article of stage performance; that is, a censor. Under these difficulties Hallam announced plays under assumed names and in various ways avoided legal interference, but he could not have done this without the backing of a large and strong element in the city, who were determined to support a theatre. Hallam began with what he called "Lecture on Heads," April 1, 1784, and Seilhamer notes that for the first time some of the papers displayed a friendly spirit. On April 14, 1785, the postponement of "An entire new lecture" was announced because "the principal part of the *machinery!* will not be ready for representation until that time."[8] Other plays were announced as prologues. During 1785 some minor plays, such as farces, were announced by their actual name. But as late as 1785 the com-

[7] Seilhamer I, p. 275.

[8] *Pennsylvania Packett,* April 27, 1784.

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missioners of the Almshouse declined to receive the proceeds of a Benefit for the Poor. A few examples of announcements will show their character:

Eduard and Eleonora	Thomson "Moral poem"
Jane Shore	"tale"
Hamlet	"moral and instructive tale"

"Improper education" stood for "She Stoops To Conquer," "Impertinent Curiosity" for "the Busybody." It would seem that the opposition was more determined some years, for in 1785 farces were given in their correct names, while in 1788 plays were still given in disguise and the performance announced as "gratis."

Strange enough there are numerous recorded visits of George Washington to the theatre, three during the season of 1788, and this more than anything else shows the anomalous position of the theatre at that period. In 1789 this condition as far as the sanction of the law was concerned came to an end and Hallam and his company opened "by authority."

The following complete announcement from the year 1787 may serve as a further example:

At the Opera House, in Southwark, This
Evening, the 30th of July, will
be Performed
A Concert.
Between the parts of the Concert will be
introduced a Comic Lecture in five
parts on the
Pernicious Vice of Scandal.
By particular desire—the original prologue
to the
School for Scandal.
Written by R. B. Sheridan Esq. Author of the
Duenna, Rivals, Critic, etc.

General Conditions at the Theatres.

These companies of players were stock companies. The Old American Company played alternately in Philadelphia, New

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York and points in the South as far as Williamsburg, and also North to Newport. The later company with headquarters at the Chestnut, played long seasons there and short seasons in Baltimore, Annapolis and later also in Washington. The Philadelphia season began some seasons as late as the middle of December and continued into April or May, and sometimes even into June, some seasons began as early as September. The repertoire of the seasons at places outside of Philadelphia was mostly a repetition of the Philadelphia repertoire, but occasionally a new piece was brought out by the company when away from home. At first the usual days of performance were Monday, Wednesday and Friday, with occasional performances on Saturday, especially after the benefits began; gradually Saturday became one of the regular days. At intervals, on account of the engagement of some star actor, performances took place every day of the week, this became more and more frequent from 1818 on and by 1824 it was the rule at the Chestnut Street house. At the Walnut Street house the days were at first Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, but here also every day performances became the rule later on, and the Arch Street house started with every day performances in 1828. Most of the actors and even some of the employes were entitled to benefits. The programme on such nights was as a rule very elaborate, including often three separate plays besides interspersed songs, dances, addresses, etc. On ordinary nights at least two pieces were played, a tragedy or a comedy followed by a farce or pantomime, or an opera folfowed by a comedy or vice versa. During the early period the term Opera is applied mostly to plays interspersed with songs. This rule of afterpieces was an English and French rule and was rigidly adhered to long after 1830. The plays are usually found advertised in the papers, during some years very briefly, during others full casts are given, the authors of the plays are mentioned, the former successes of the plays briefly mentioned and occasionally the place and date of its first appearance, and here figure most frequently the London theatres of Drury Lane, Haymarket and Covent Garden, and later on we find references to New York and Boston successes. Paris is also referred

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to especially in the case of numerous pantomimes. Some of the advertisements are very elaborate, taking up more than a column of the paper, giving besides casts an outline of the scenes, and in the case of "Serious Pantomimes" full details of the story. This is especially true from about 1800 on for a few years. As an illustration may serve an announcement in the *Gazette* of the U. S. of April 3d, 1803, the closing night of the season, reproduced by the *North American,* the lineal descendant of the *Gazette,* on April 3, 1903, in its column "North American News of a Hundred Years ago today":

"New Theatre.
Last Night of Performance
This evening, April 3, 1804.
Will be presented a Historical Play, interspersed
with songs, called
The Hero of the North,
Founded on the life of Gustavus Vasa the
Swedish Hero
Written by Mr. Diamond Jr.
Performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane,
with unbounded applause.
With new scenery and decorations
The scenery designed by Messrs. Holland and Milbourne.
The Original Music by Mr. Kelly, with Orchestra parts by
Mr. Reinagle and Mr. Cheatedun."

The cast follows and a description of the principal scenes, "To which will be added a pantomimical Romance (never acted here) called

Black Beard;
or, the Outlawed Pirates,
(With new Scenery and Decorations)
Performed at Covent Garden Theatre upwards of 160
nights to overflowing houses.

The cast follows and a full description of the Pantomime.

In the case of many plays the names have been so changed that these alone would give us no clue as to their origin, whether

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of English, German or French origin, but the casts, even sometimes incomplete are most valuable. For the fact that a play is a translation or adaptation is not always stated, sometimes the statement is made "from the German" and at times the public is allowed to assume that the play is of native or English origin. Such long runs as mentioned in London or Paris theatres are unheard of here. Five or six times in succession is a long run during the early years and up to 1830. I have recorded no longer run than 25 in one season and then not on successive nights. This was "Faustus" at the Arch Street theatre during the season of 1829-1830. Before the Revolution the advertisements and the play bills end with "Vivat rex" and after the Revolution with "Vivat Republica," which, however, soon disappears.

The doors opened at first at 5 P. M. and the curtain rose at 6, later on this was changed to 5.15 and 6.15 and later still to 5.30 and 6.30 according to the season of the year. In summer it was as late at 6 and 7 respectively. In 1826 the Chestnut Street house observed the hours 5.45 and 6.45 in the winter, and in the summer of the same year 6.30 and 7.30. In 1827 the announcements give 6 and 7 for the French company, while the regular company opens again in the fall at 5.30 and the curtain rises at 6.30. The time of opening grows later and later. During the summer season of 1828 it is 6.45 and 7.30, and for the fall season of 1829, 6.30 and 7, and in May of 1830 7 and 7.45, thus gradually approaching the time observed at the present day of 7.30 and 8 to 8.15. When the Olympic, later known as the Walnut Street Theatre, developed from a circus into a theatre in 1812, the time for doors and curtain was 5 and 6 respectively. In the summer of 1818 the doors opened at 6 and curtain rose at 7, and according to a special announcement June 3, 1818, "performances will conclude by 11 o'clock at the farthest." This was however not maintained, for in the winter of 1818 we find again 5.30 and 6.30 given. In 1823 the summer season shows 6.30 and 7.30 and the following winter season 6.30 and 7, in the summer season of 1827 we have 7 and 7.30, which, however, is not maintained, the winter of 1828-1829 showing 6 and 7, and 1829-1830, 6.15 and 7, and while this time from this

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on varies a little, being on certain dates a little earlier, we find for May 15, 1830, the time 7 and 8 given. Thus the Walnut was the first of the two houses to adopt later hours and reached by 1830 a later hour than the Chestnut. The Arch Street during the three months' season of 1828 under the management of Mr. Wood of the Chestnut, maintained about the same hours as the Chestnut, 5.45 and 6.45, and 5.30 and 6.30; but under new management the hours for the spring of 1829 were 6.30 and 7.15, though in January of 1830 for the winter months the time is somewhat earlier again, namely 6 and 6.45. When we consider that the Walnut with its circus combination appealed to a more popular audience, we can understand the gradual adoption of a later hour. The earlier hour was no doubt more fashionable and as long as the Chestnut Street house maintained itself as the more fashionable house it held on to the earlier hours. The Arch Street sought as we have seen to maintain the more fashionable hour. The Tivoli theatre being of even a more popular character than the Walnut, began its performances in summer at 8 P. M. and its winter season of 1821 at the Prune Street house gives doors 6 and curtain 7, and the latest announcements in 1828 give for August 7.30 and 8.

The old company at the Southwark maintained of course the early hours, and in 1790 we read the following notice: "Ladies and Gentlemen are requested to send their servants to keep places by five o'clock and order them, as soon as the company are seated to withdraw as they can not on any account be permitted to remain."[9]

The papers during the early period contain few references to the theatre outside of the paid advertisements. From time to time an interest awakens and for a brief period criticisms appear. These early criticisms are mostly of a personal nature and refer more to the actor and his acting than to the merit of the play. The important political events both in this country and Europe excluded almost everything else. From 1800 on weekly and monthly publications became more numerous and some of these

[9] *Gazette of the U. S.*, 1790.

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give some attention to the drama, while from time to time periodicals appear which give almost their whole attention to the drama, and of these a few are still extant and furnish us with a reflex of the taste of the period. Other incidental references and criticisms must be sought for in occasional pamphlets, memoirs of individuals, accounts of travels and in letters published and unpublished.

Judging from the names of musicians as they are given both in New York and Philadelphia, we find that from the earliest period up to about 1825 English, Irish, French and Italian names predominate. Irish music especially was a favorite during the early period and Dublin Theatre is often mentioned as the home of some successful piece. The ballet played an important part and dances of various kinds, especially Irish and Scotch dances besides French steps, the prevalence of one or the other depending largely on the nationality of the director. The French dances are frequently announced in French form as well as the pantomimes of French origin. Thus during the season of 1794-95 we find

"L'amour trouve les moyens, or the Fruitless precaution," Comic Dance.

"La petite Piedmontese," Pantomime Ballet.

"Les deux Chasseurs," Comic Ballet, and during the season of 1795-96 "La Bonne petite Fille," Pantomime Ballet.

"La Foret Noire," Serious Pantomime.

"Puce de Provence & La Belle Magalone," Ballet.

A dance is announced under the name of "Les Delices D'Amerique, in which will be introduced an entire new set of Cotillons, composed by Mr. Francis," number 3 and 4 of which are marked "Strathspey Reels, composed entirely of the favorite Scotch steps." The reasons for the French influence are of course apparent, and in connection with some of the plays, such as *"Minna von Barnhelm"* we shall have occasion to treat of it more at length. As late as 1813 the Philadelphia papers published lists of French letters remaining at the Postoffice "Liste des lettres françaises restant à la Poste. A Philadelphia le 31. Mars

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1813."[10] The theatres maintained until long after 1830 the arrangement of the English theatres and three places and three prices are given, seats in the boxes $1.00, in the Pit $.75 and in the Gallery 50 cents. These prices were maintained fairly uniformly at the Chestnut Street house until 1823, when for the season of 1823-24 the Pit was reduced to 50 cents, and the Gallery to 25 cents.[11] Later on in 1827 the price of the Pit was raised again to 75 cents, the Gallery remaining, however, 25 cents, the price also of the New Orleans French Company, which played a number of short seasons at the Chestnut Street house, while the regular company was away from home, in Baltimore or Washington. When the theatre opened in 1829 under the new management of Pratt and Wemyss, the prices of Box $1.00, Pit 50 cents and Gallery 25 cents were still maintained, but in the next season 1829-30 there was a significant reduction of seats in the boxes to 75 cents, and still another reduction in the seats in the Pit to 37½ cents. The decline of the Chestnut Street house as a first class one and the necessity of meeting the competition of the other houses is apparent in this particular also. The Walnut maintained in 1814 the same prices as the Chestnut, $1.00, 75 cents and 50 cents, for some time afterwards, though in 1823 the prices are given as boxes 50 cents, pit 25 cents, and the same prices are given for 1827. When the theatre opened for the season of 1827-28 as the "Philadelphia Theatre," the prices are given: Box (Orchestra) 75 cents, Box 50c. Pit 37½c. Gallery (a portion for persons of colour) 25 cents, which prices were maintained until 1829 when under new management they appear as follows: boxes 75 cents, pit 50 cents, gallery 25 cents. These prices were lowered in the summer season of 1829 to boxes 50 cents, pit 37½ cents and gallery 25 cents, with a few orchestra seats at 75 cents, and in the winter season 1829-30 there was a further drop, boxes 50 cents, pit 25 cents and gallery 12½ cents. In January of 1830 there was a re-arrangement under the form of boxes in first tier 75 cents, in sec-

[10] *Aurora*, 1813.

[11] Cf. Wood, p. 299, on "Injudicious Imitation of Rates at New York Theatre."

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ond and third tier 50 cents; pit 25 cents, and gallery 12½ cents, which was slightly changed again under the management of S. W. Chapman, in February of 1830, to pit 37½ cents and gallery 18¾ cents, and in April of the same year to 50 cents, 25 cents and 12½ cents.

Wood began at the Arch Street in 1828 with the prices prevailing at the time at the Chestnut; namely, boxes $1.00, pit 50 cents and gallery 25 cents; but under the management of A. J. Phillips in the winter season of 1829 the prevailing prices were, boxes 75cents, pit 37½ cents and gallery 25 cents, and these prices are also announced for the season of 1830-1831. The Winter Tivoli Theatre on Prune Street announced in 1820: "Performances every evening (Sundays excepted). Season tickets for one month $3.00, two months $5.00, five months $10.00. Lower and upper boxes 50 cents, pit 25 cents. Colored people admitted in the gallery at 25 cents"; which prices seem to have been maintained, and similar prices are found in the case of the other minor places already referred to.

Decorum and Manners.

Dunlap cites a German prince's views on English theatres:

"The most striking thing to a foreigner in English theatres is the unheard of coarseness and brutality of the audiences, such as shouts from the gallery, throwing things, sitting in shirtsleeves, etc. . . . Another cause for the absence of respectable families is the resort of hundreds of those unhappy women with whom London swarms. Between the acts they fill the large and handsome foyers and exhibit their boundless effrontery in the most revolting manner, often drunk and hard to keep off, and beg shamelessly. Is not this—to say nothing of the immorality—in the highest degree low and undignified? It is wholly inconsistent with any real love of art or conception of its office and dignity." Dunlap as manager was in a position to know comments on this:[12] "This portrait is undoubtedly true and it is more than time that a radical remedy should be found, otherwise a line must

[12] Dunlap, p. 366.

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be drawn between the friends of the drama and the friends of the play house. How different is all this from the appearance which presents itself to the eye in the theatres of *France* and *Germany*—of every part of the world, where the influence of English refinement and taste (note the satire!) in amusement is not imitated."

Dunlap [13] refers to the fact that special places were provided for degraded women; namely, a distinct portion of the proscenium, and then cites the *German* and *French* management as superior, and regrets that Massachusetts had not set an example by abolishing this evil. "But they made it worse. The Federal Street Theatre provides a separate entrance for those who come for the purpose of alluring to vice." "Since writing the above, we have seen the English Theatre charged by an English writer with disgraceful arrangements which would not be endured in the most dissolute capital of the Continent, and which seem intended to justify the severe denunciations of those who entertain scruples about the stage. We venture to hope that one theatre will break the unholy association with open vice and immorality, by imitating the stricter police of the Continental theatres."[14] In another part of his book Dunlap gives the laws, regulation and police system of the French theatre, for which he says he is indebted to "Opera Glass" and the work of Talma presented to Mr. Payne, and refers to this French system as a model for all countries "that wish to abolish the abuses, and profit by the inherent powers of that great engine which can bring back with more vividness than any other—even the pencil and the press."

An American writing from Paris, September 12, 1802, writes:

"I reflect with disgust on almost all the theatrical representations I ever saw in England. I attach no consequence to the number of theatres; but I reflect with mortification and envy upon the admirable manner in which they (*i. e.*, in Paris) are con-

[13] Dunlap, p. 211.
[14] Dunlap, p. 300.

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ducted. It would be more desirable to have a box in the fourth or fifth house here than in the second in London. One would witness more judgment in the managers, more talent in the actors and more taste in the audience. Constant habit renders us insensible to the low state of our drama. Here the theatres are filled with real amateurs. What order prevails! In London few seem to go for the sake of the play. Judging by the public places, London must be reckoned infinitely the most profligate. While not vouching for the virtue of all the female part of a French audience, women are never seen in the theatre insulting decency and openly bartering their charms. Here the second rate artists are almost equal to the first and there are but two divisions."[15]

These conditions in England, witnessed to by Germans, Americans and Englishmen themselves, I have noted at some length because some English writers in their impatience over the German plays, especially those of Kotzebue, which flooded the London stage before 1810, attempted to make out that the lowering of the tone of the theatre was due largely to the lack of good pieces and the presence of these German pieces. The above observations of the German traveler, of the gentleman writing from Paris and the admissions of Dunlap as to the same conditions in New York and Boston—and he refers to the subject with regret in many places of his book—show that the trouble lay more in the brutal condition of the masses rather than in any lack of better plays. It was English men and women who first taught America their art as players and managers, but these regrettable conditions also were a survival of British influences, which we have happily outlived and overcome, or at least relegated to places where nothing else is to be looked for. But what of Philadelphia, the city which during the management of Warren and Wood surpassed New York as the home of the drama, and where the Chestnut Street house was considered the first in the land? A correspondent to the *Mirror of Taste,* signing himself "Old Philadelphian," thought it was time to enter a protest against the habits of the harlots in the Chestnut. "In the most

[15] *Port Folio* II, 52, p. 414.

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vitiated of the old corrupted nations of Europe there is nothing that I know to equal the immodest outrages committed in our theatre upon the modest women of the audience by the open dalliance of the thoughtless men with noted public impures."[16] According to "Old Philadelphian," this was not so in former days, which may have been true in the earlier days when the theatre was scarcely tolerated; namely, the period immediately after the Revolution; but in 1801 and earlier we have references to this same evil in Philadelphia, while, as we have seen, Dunlap refers to it as existing before 1797. In an earlier number of *Mirror of Taste* a correspondent wrote: "We cannot help expressing the wish that the managers may, in time, direct their attention to two evils and prepare to encounter them with effectual preventative regulations." The first referred to is smoking. "The other evil is of a much more serious nature. The immoral conduct of women of ill fame and their companions in the upper boxes calls for the interposition of the managers."[17] Goede, in his "The Stranger in England,"[18] speaks of the decline of the English stage. We shall see later this decline and change of taste of the British public attributed largely to the importation of German plays, but fortunately we shall be able to put a champion of the same period in the lists who will show that this taste for a certain class of plays and for certain features of plays existed before the arrival of German plays. Others would not go so far, but broadly hint that the importation of these German plays, if not a cause, were at least a symptom of the low state of the drama. In this line are the remarks of the Earl of Leicester, cited in the *Mirror of Taste* of 1810 and commented on: "It appears to be a most vitiated taste of

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[16] *Mirror of Taste.*

[17] *Mirror of Taste*, p. 296.

[18] *Mirror of Taste*, p. 251. Extract from a British publication: *The Stranger in England; or, Travels in Great Britain, containing remarks on the Politics, Laws, Manners, Customs and Distinguished Characters of that Country; chiefly its Metropolis with Criticisms on the stage. From the German of C. A. G. Goede. In three volumes 12 mo. 15 sh., Mathews and Leigh, London, 1807. Arrived in England in 1802, he remained two years. On his return to Germany he communicated his observations to his countrymen in five volumnes, from which the most interesting parts are extracted in this translation.*

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the public to endure those childish pantomimes, Blue Beard, etc., on the very boards where Shakespeare and Otway once stormed the human heart. But it is not such a sign of perverted taste as it is of a prudent toleration of Blue Beards, kettle drums or distant views of *big-bellied Virgins of the Sun,* for if the manager did not provide these, he could give the audience nothing. With nothing to fix the attention or touch the feelings of the generality of those who frequent the theatre, the constant and indecent interruptions from ladies of easy virtue and their impudent paramours, are not resented as they ought to be, or as they constantly would be, could we suppose Garrick and Mrs. Cibber rising from the dead again to charm us. Should the internal part of the theatre have attractions to keep those, who pay at the door, in their places, the lobbies would not be filled with profligates of every description, familiarizing the yet incorrupted and modest to scenes of such meretricious impudence hardly exaggerated by Hogarth in the 'Rake's Progress.' What parent can conduct his wife and daughter through this sty without trembling with fear that, though these sights are shocking and horrible to them today, they may not be so tomorrow—an audience that went to the play to hear and see would quickly interfere with these orgies."[19]

Nationality of Actors, Performers, Members of Orchestra, etc.

As might have been expected, the names of those connected with the theatre in all capacities show largely British origin. French names predominate during the early period in the orchestra. It is not until 1825 that the cosmopolitan condition of our population begins to manifest itself, when German names become more frequent. Up to 1774 we note the following names of the American Company: Hallam, Douglass, Morris, Wools, Henry, Goodman (first actor of American birth), Wall (opens theatre in Baltimore, 1782), Parker, Byerly, Roberts, Darby, Dermot, Johnson, Bloekler, Davis, Hughes.

Mrs. Douglass, Philadelphia, 1773. Miss Hallam, Ann

[19] Cf. Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin,* articles by "Penn," March 8th and May 12th, 1905, for an interesting discussion of this matter.

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Storer, died New York, 1816. Fannie Storer, Maria Storer, Mrs. Morris, died Philadelphia, 1829. Mrs. Richardson, Mrs. Wall.[20]

From the earliest days Ireland is well represented, and among the earliest we find Mr. and Mrs. Ryan, who had been players in Ireland before coming to America, and whose seasons in New York and Baltimore Dunlap has overlooked, and, according to Seilhamer, for the reason that Hallam was Dunlap's informant and never spoke of his rivals, and adds that New York did not wait for the return of Hallam after the Revolution before the revival of the drama could be effected. "Wall (who followed Ryan as manager) was not a great actor, but he was an ambitious one, and to him and his partner, Lindsey, not to Hallam and Henry, as has always been asserted, was due the revival of the drama in the United States when the dark hours of the war for independence were over."[21]

These were the players of Baltimore:

Ryan, Wall, Keating, Heard, Lewis, Shakespeare, Atherton, Smith, Tilgard, Willis, David, Twyford, Street, Church, Patterson, Brown, Mrs. Ryan, Wall, Miss Wall, Mrs. Parson, Mrs. Potter, Lyne, Garrison, Hyde, Miss Edwards.

In 1792 the members of the Old American Company playing at the Southwark under the management of Henry were: Mr. Hodgkinson, Hallam, Wools, West, King, Ashton, Ryan, Bisset, Hammond, Robinson, Durang, Prigmore, Miss Tuke, Mrs. Runkin, Hamilton, Henry, Hodgkinson.

In 1795 the members of the company playing at the Chestnut Street Theatre under the management of Wignell and Reinagle were: Morris, Whitlock, Moreton, Blisset, Green, Wignell, Marshall, Francis, Cleveland, Harwood, Mitchell, Bates, Darley, Jr., Mrs. Rowson, Marshall, Whitlock, Francis, Williams, Worrel, Cleveland, Hervey, Bates, Shaw, Master F. Warrel, Master J. Warrel.

In 1793 we find Miss Fanny Storer, who had made her début

[20] Seilhamer,
[21] Seilhamer II, p. 116.

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at the Southwark, Philadelphia, in 1767, recorded as Mrs. Mechtler in the company playing at Newport, R. I., and the following for pantomime and ballet: Mr. and Mrs. Placide, Douilier, Tronche and Spinacuta; and with the Boston Company during the season of 1796-1797, Mons. Lege, Mme. Lege, Mme. Gardie and Mr. Dubois.

The cast of *Pizarro,* November 10, 1800, in which Mr Cooper played *Rolla,* shows the following members:

Spaniards:	Pizarro...Warren	Peruvians:	Ataliba..Wood
	Alonzo... Cain		Rolla... Cooper
	Alonajeo. Prigmore		Origimlo Bernard
	Davilla... Francis		Orane...Hopkins
	Gonzalo.. Durang	Old Kind Man	....Morris
	Gomez... Blisset	Boy	..... Master Harris
	Valverde. Wood	High Priest	.....Darley
	Las Casas.Wignell	Second Priest	..... Baily
Second Soldier	.... Milbourne	Cora	.....Miss Westrag
Castilian Soldier	...Bernard		

A cast of "Abællino," February 27, 1807, shows some of the same members with some new ones:

Andreas Grelli	..... Warren	Mather	.....Cross
Dandoli	..... Robbins	Abællino	.....Wood
Canari	..... McKenzie	Senators	..... Brag-Durany
Flodoardo	..... Wood	Rosamunde	...Mrs. Wood
Cardinal Grimaldi	.Taylor	Iduella	.....Jefferson
Parozzi	.....Cone	Ladies	.....Durang-Hunt-Mullen
Contarino	.....Baily		
Memmo	.....Jefferson		

While in 1829 scarcely one of the old names is included, Wood [22] cites for the *Honey Moon* only three of the original performers of it, Wood, Mrs. Wood and Jefferson, still the casts show only English names, with one possible exception, namely, Heyl, as shown in the cast of the *Bottle Imp,* a novel drama, on January 27, 1829.

[22] Wood, p. 359.

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Albert, a German Traveller .....Heyl
Willibald, his servant and monitor .....Jefferson
Nicola, a Spanish sorcerer .....Southwell
Waldeck, a farmer .....Hathwell
Conrad, his son, an officer of Musqueteers Mercer
Shadrack, a Jew peddler .....Darley
Ismelli, a drunken Musqueteer .....Wemyss
The Bottle Imp .....Rowbotham
Marcelia, daughter of Waldeck ..... Mrs. Willis
Lucretia, in love with Albert ..... Mrs. Rowbotham
Phillipa, Willibald's beautiful friend ....Miss E. Jefferson

In 1783 a company of amateurs gave the *Siege of Damascus,* and in the cast occurs the name of one German in the role of Eumenes—Dr. Andrew Weisenthall.

The names of the Arch Street Company in 1829 were: Archer, Andrews (Manchester, Liverpool, Boston, New York), J. Froscher (New York), Finn, Gates, Holland, Hazard (Boston), Howard, Jarvis (Boston, New York), Kent, Kerr, Murray, Phillips, Roberts, Stromson (Bowery Theatre, New York), Tuthill, Vernon, Vaughn, Walton (Manchester, Liverpool, Boston, New York), Young (Boston, New York).

Mons. Achille	Miss Cramer	Miss Kerr
Mons. Vestris	Miss Coleman	Mrs. Maywood
Mme. Achille	Mrs. Duff	Miss Rick
Mme. Vestris	A. Fisher	Mrs. Stone
	Hamilton	Mrs. Stevenson
	Mrs. Knight	Mrs. Talbot
		Mrs. Vernon
		Mrs. Young

The full list of the company of the Walnut is given in the *American Sentinel,* September 7, 1829; some of them we recognize as former members of the Chestnut Street Theatre: Jefferson (Chestnut Street), Cowel, W. Chapman, Green, Rowbotham, Langton (Cincinnati), J. Jefferson, Sefton, Stone, Lear (Southern Theatre), Greenwood, Ball (Chatham, N. Y.), W.

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Isherwood, Hathwell, Darley, Read (Albany), Porter, Jackson (Chatham, N. Y.), Charlton, Garson, Thompson, James (Chatham, N. Y.), Nelson, Mrs. Hamblin, S. Chapman (late Miss E. Jefferson), Mrs. Jefferson, Mrs. Greene, Anderson, Reper, B. Stickney, Rowbotham, Slates (Albany), Connor, Nelson, Bloom, Miss Hathwell, L. Hathwell, H. Hathwell, Bell, Miller, Barry. Special dancers: Wells, Miss Wells, Mons. Duraisel, Mms. Duraisel, and Corps de Ballet. Leader of the Band—Milon.

The leaders and members of the orchestra were principally French; most of them, according to Dunlap,[28] gentlemen who had seen better days, and who had been driven from Paris by the Revolution; some of them nobles, some officers in the army of the king, others from St. Domingo. In humbler employments here and there a German may be found. Dunlap mentions a doorkeeper of the stage, old Philip, a German by birth, "who had been brought hither with other slaves of the Prince of Hesse." Dunlap also speaks of one of his musicians, a Swiss, who had an interesting life story. From some casual remarks it would appear that this man helped Dunlap in his translations from the German, although he gives no direct credit. In 1796 John D. Miller made his first appearance on the New York stage. Dunlap says of him: "He was a good looking young man, but destitute of education and talent. He wisely retired in a few years, became rich, an Alderman, and a Fourth of July orator among the Sachems of Tammany Hall. He was a native of New York, son of Mr. Philip Miller, a German baker."

Among the players of the Douglass company before the Revolution there was one known as Mr. Francis, whose real name was Franzis Menzius, or Mentges. Both Seilhamer and Dunlap mention him briefly, but Col. Greydon, in his memoirs, has an interesting reference to him. Col. Greydon is complaining of the rapid promotion of an adjutant, who, having been surrounded by the Hessians in the battle of Long Island, concealed himself till dark, when, through understanding and speaking German, he was enabled to answer and elude their

[28] Dunlap, p. 198.

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sentries and get back to our lines. For this piece of address, which consisted merely in good hiding and speaking his mother tongue, the council invested him with a majority, jumping him over the heads of all the captains and subalterns in the line. This adjutant was Mentges, already spoken of as fencing master in Philadelphia, and who first appeared there in a less dignified character on the stage, a circumstance which rendered his preferment still more galling. I should be unjust, however, if I did not say that Mentges, though at the time little known, turned out to be an honest, worthy man, attentive to duty, correct in his demeanor and generally esteemed."[24]

These few isolated cases of persons of German antecedents emphasize the almost universal prevalence of English and Irish actors, with a sprinkling of French and Italians, especially for the pantomimes and ballets, and even in the orchestras the French prevail for some time. But in 1827 we begin to see indications of a change, as the following announcement will show, appearing a few days before the opening of the Chestnut Street Theatre for the season of 1827-1828:

"During the recess every effort has been made to enlist in the Opera and Dramatic Corps performers of superior talents and attractions, both in England and the United States. A troupe of dancers has been engaged to exhibit the gaieties and beauties of the Ballet."

"The Orchestra will be composed of excellent musicians. Mr. Braune, the Director, and three gentlemen of great skill have been brought from Germany."

A few days later a concert was given at the theatre and the names then appeared in the announcement:

Braun, Vienna, Prague, Berlin, Königsberg (Theatre of).
Wepper, Munich (Opera of).
Krieger and Dillman. Frankfort-on-the-Maine.

On October 25, in a criticism of the opening night, reference was made to the orchestra: "We understand that the object of Mr. Warren in giving the concert was to introduce to the

[24] *Memoirs of a Life*, etc., p. 160.

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public the recent addition to his orchestra, and we congratulate them on the acquisition the liberal enterprise of the Manager has made to this very important part of the arrangements of the Theatre." . . .

"We have been taught by the orchestra of the French company to appreciate fine music, and we do not doubt we shall have equal talents and as well arranged a corps of performers in the orchestra of the Theatre."

Later, in 1829, a concert was given at the Arch Street Theatre by the orchestra, assisted by Hupfeldt, Hommann, Krieger, Widtl, Wepper, Hommann, Sr., Rudolphus, Tragetta, Hill, Schmelling, Cortez, Reinhard, Schmitz, Hansen, Krollmann, and on August 31 the orchestra is announced led by Mr. Hansen and composed of the first talent now in the country.

The Plays from the Earliest Time to the End of the Season 1829-1830.

For a list of the translations of German plays printed in the United States, 1826, see Wilkens, Appendix. Some plays which were translated here and published were never performed on the American stage, at least there is no record of any performance. Most of the translations and adaptations from the German originated in England, and of those translated or adapted here some were not published.

There are numerous plays performed in England and America during our period which, while neither direct acknowledged translations or adaptations, may be plagiarized forms of German plays or German plays in disguise, and still others simply showing German influences. A broader study should include all of these, but for the present my task is the comparatively simpler one of calling attention to those plays which are acknowledged as translations or adaptations, or may be easily seen to be such. The material for the lists from the earliest period to 1794 is to be found in Seilhamer's work;[1] for the rest of the period to 1830 the daily newspapers were the source.

[1] Seilhamer's work brings us to 1797, but from 1794 on there is some confusion and the Philadelphia theatre references are therefore not complete.

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Beside the plays translated or adapted from the German, there are plays which deal with German subjects and plays with scenes in Germany and Switzerland, though written in England or America. Still other plays deal with subjects which German writers, especially Schiller, later chose for their dramas. Such are: *Gustava Vasa, Maid of Orleans, Marie Stuart, William Tell.* We are now ready to take up the seasons in order from the earliest time to 1830. For convenience I shall recognize three periods: I. From the very beginning to 1774, the time of the Revolution; II. From 1782 to 1794,[2] from the time of the re-establishment of the theatre after the Revolution to the opening of the Chestnut Street Theatre; III. From 1794 to 1830. While it is only during the last period that we find any German plays, there are a number of things of the earlier periods which are of interest and may help to show the conditions in which the German plays appeared.

I. Period 1749-1774.[3]

The Murray and Kean repertoire included two plays of Centlivre, two of Dryden, three of Farquhar, *Richard III, Cato, George Barnwell,* of Lilo, and one each of Gay, Philips, Rowe, Congreve and Otway; and of farces two of Fielding, two of Cibber and one each of Coffey, Hill, Garrick and Farquhar.

The original Hallam repertoire included four of Shakespeare: *Richard III, Hamlet, Merchant of Venice* and *Othello. George Barnwell,* none of Centlivre or of Dryden; five of Farquhar, two of which were the same as in the above repertoire; none of Phillips, two of Rowe, one of which was *Jane Shore;* none of Congreve or Otway, but one each of Cibber, Howard, Steele, *Conscious Lovers,* Vanbrugh, Hoadley, Lee and Bulleck. And of farces one of Fielding, *Mock Doctor;* three of Garrick (*Lethe, Lying Valet* and *Miss in Her Teens*), and one pantomime (*Harlequin Collector; or, the Miller Deceived*); two of Cibber, same as above; one of Coffey, and one of Ravenscroft.

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[2] For the years 1774-1782, cf., p. 8 above, and p. 46.

[3] It is safer to follow Seilhamer than Dunlap, whose omissions and inaccuracies Seilhamer has pointed out.

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One in the first repertoire, *Distressed Mother,* by Philips, is a tragedy, translated from Racine's *Andromache,* and among the farces there are two, the *Anatomist,* of Ravenscroft, and the *Mock Doctor,* of Fielding, from Molière, and *Woman's a Riddle* is from the Spanish comedy *La Dama Duenda.*

The first performance of *George Barnwell* (1730) seems to have been at Annapolis, July 27, 1752.

In 1754 we find two additional plays of Shakespeare, *King Lear* and *Romeo and Juliet;* an additional one of Addison, the *Drummer;* an additional pantomime, *Harlequin Skeleton;* one additional farce of Farquhar, the *Stage Coach,* an adaptation of *Les Carosses d'Orleans,* in which one scene is bodily transferred from the French original. Besides these appear also Moore's *Gamester,*[4] June 10th, and Bank's *Albion Queens,* a tragedy, based on the misfortunes of Mary, Queen of Scots.

June 25 to December 28, 1759.

This season included the Shakespeare plays so far mentioned and also *Macbeth,* and plays from the same authors. As a matter of local interest, we note a charity performance, on December 27th,[5] "towards raising a Fund for purchasing an Organ to the College Hall in this city and instructing the Charity children in Psalmody." The programme of the evening included *George Barnwell* and the farce *Lethe,* by Garrick.

The Southwark Theatre, 1766-67.

This season, in the first permanent structure erected for theatrical purposes, showed a decided increase of repertoire and extended from November 21, 1766, to July 6, 1767, not unchallenged, however, by those who opposed the theatre and considered all stage entertainments unlawful. It included the same Shakespeare plays and added *Cymbeline* and *Catherine and Petruchio;* and, besides authors already named, plays of the following appeared: Bickerstaff, Murphy, Townley, Smollett, *The*

[4] Cf. Fritz G., *Der Spieler im deutschen Drama des achzehnten Jahrhunderts.* Diss. Berlin; cf., also J. B. L. 1900. IV. 4, 1.

[5] Cf. Seilhamer, p. 111.

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Reprisal; Mrs. Cibber, Foote, Johnson, *Country Lasses;* Mondez, Congreve, Whitehead, *Roman Father.* During this season, on April 24, 1767, was played the first American play ever produced,[6] "the *Prince of Parthia,* Thomas Godfrey, 1736-1763, Philadelphia, written in 1759, but not performed until 1767. After Vanbrugh's *Provoked Husband* and Hoadley's *Suspicious Husband,* followed now *Jealous Wife,* based on Fielding's *Tom Jones.* Fielding's *Miser,* based on Molière, whose *L'Avare* was the first of a series by this title; one followed in 1672 by Shadwell, and the first one of the numerous "Schools" appears, *School for Lovers,* by Whitehead. About this same period some of these English plays were popular in German translation, cf. *Der Werbeofficier* (*Recruiting Officer*), Farquhar, and *Die heimliche Heirath* (*Clandestine Marriage*), and plays of Vanbrugh, Congreve, Rowe, Mrs. Cibber and Otway.

The first American *comedy* accepted for production was *Eugenio;* or, *The Disappointment,* and was a satire on the searchers after hidden treasure. It was printed in New York, 1767, and Thomas Forrest is the supposed author. "The company assembled and the conjurer began to 'hex,' as the process of incantation was called. When Armbruster finally invoked the pirate: 'Du Verfluchter komm heraus' "[8] . . .

The announcement of Congreve's *Mourning Bride* was accompanied by the following explanation: "Mr. Congreve's comedies are allowed to abound with genuine wit and true humor; but in compliance with the licentious taste of the time in which they were written, the author has in some places given rein to his wanton muse and deviated from those roles a more refined age and chaste stage require; the revisor of the play has taken the freedom to crop such luxuriances and expunge every passage that might be offensive either to decency or good manners."

A supplementary season followed, from September 24th to November 23rd; the only new play was *Clandestine Marriage,*

[6] Published in Philadelphia, 1765. Dunlap asserts it was never produced.
[7] *Englishes Theater,* Chr. H. Schmid, 1769-77. G. G. 5, 1893, p. 257.
[8] *Watson's Annals* on Thomas Forrest.

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Drury Lane, 1765, ascribed usually to Garrick and Coleman; but, according to Mr. Galt, a plagiarism from *False Concord,* by the Rev. James Townley, author of *High Life Below Stairs.*[9] *Clandestine Marriage* (*Die heimliche Heirath*) is one of the English plays mentioned by Chr. H. Schmid as popular between 1769 and 1777 in Germany, but it may have in reality been itself an adaptation of a German play, as one name in its cast might indicate; namely, that of Mrs. Heidelberg.[10]

The season of 1767-1768 the company spent in New York. Seilhamer states that here thirty-eight full pieces, tragedies and comedies, were given, including eight from Shakespeare, and as secondary pieces twenty-six farces. He mentions, however, only four new pieces, one of which, *Love a la Mode,* by Macklin, Drury Lane, 1760, shows French antecedents.[11]

The Philadelphia season of 1768-1769 began October 21st, and new to Philadelphia was the *Spanish Fryar, of Dryden,* and new to America, *King John,* December 12, 1768; *False Delicacy,* by Kelly, from Drury Lane, December 16th, and *Zasa,* by Hill, from the *Zaise,* by Voltaire, December 26th, and also *Alexander the Great; or, the Rival Queens,* by Lee.

Sharp attacks on the theatre appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on December 19, 1768.

Southwark Theatre, Season November 8 to May 24, 1770.

Seilhamer criticises Dunlap for not mentioning the American Company until 1772, while, as he says, the season of 1769-1770 was one of the most brilliant in the history of the American stage.

As new pieces he mentions *Midas,*[12] mythological burlesque, by Kane O'Hara; *Siege of Damascus,* by John Hughes (Drury Lane, 1720); *Wit's Last Shift,* by King (Drury Lane); *Edward the Black Prince,* by Shivley (first in England, 1748); *The Good*

[9] Seilhamer, p. 200.

[10] Cf. Note 7.

[11] For complete list see Seilhamer, p. 212-213.

[12] *King Midas* is mentioned in Amalia's letters to Knebel in 1791 as one of the favorite magic lantern pieces performed at the Weimar Tiefurt Court Theatre.

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Natured Man, by Goldsmith (Covent Garden, 1768); two plays by Steele, *The Funeral* and the *Tender Husband,* and several interludes.

Until 1772 the company was in the South, in Annapolis, Md., and Williamsburg, Va., and during those seasons appeared for the first time some plays of Cumberland, the *West Indian,* the *Brothers; or, the Shipwreck* (Covent Garden, 1769), and the *Fashionable Lover,* two of which are mentioned as popular in translation in Germany somewhat later, *Die Brüder, Der Westindier.*[18]

Southwark Theatre, November 28, 1772, to March 31, 1773.

Seilhamer enumerates thirty-two full pieces and twenty-two farces, and the Cumberland plays now first appeared in Philadelphia. Of those mentioned, the first, the *West Indian,* is of special interest, not only because Kotzebue translated it, *Der Westindier, Lustspiel in fünf Acten von Cumberland, Auf's neue für die deutsche Bühne bearbeitet,* Leipzig, 1815, but because it belonged to the repertoire of the Private Thearicals at Weimar, in which Kotzebue and his sister Amalia also took part.[14] Other new pieces during the season were *Lionel and Clarissa; or, School for Fathers,* a comic opera by Bickerstaff (Covent Garden, 1768); the *Englishman in Paris,* by Foote, 1753; two show pieces, *Cymon,* by Garrick, and *Conquest of Canada,* by Cuckings. A new farce was *Register Office,* by Joseph Reed. Nine Shakespeare plays were performed, *Hamlet, Richard III, Romeo and Juliet, Merchant of Venice, Othello, Henry IV, Cymbeline, Tempest,* and *Catharine and Petruchio,* three of which Seilhamer remarks have not been seen in this generation in Philadelphia.

Before passing to the last season of the company in Philadelphia, we note one or two plays of the New York season of 1773; namely, *Comus,* of Milton, first time in America, and *She Stoops to Conquer,* by Goldsmith (Covent Garden, 1772), the one comedy produced by the Old American Company, that still holds its place on the stage.

[18] Cf. Note 7.

[14] The Duke played Major O'Flaherty, Eckhoff (the great actor), the Father, and Goethe played Belcour.

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Southwark Theatre, 1773. November 1st to November 15th.

This was the last season of the company in Philadelphia before the Revolution, and on November 15th occurred the last performance, on which occasion the plays were Cumberland's *West Indian* and *Cross Purposes,* by O'Brien. Of the ten pieces performed, one was of French origin, *Irish Widow,* by Garrick, from Molière's *Marriage Forcé.* The last performance before the Revolution by professional players took place at the Southwark Theatre on the 19th and 23d of September, 1774, and were announced as "An Attic Evening's Entertainment, by Mr. Goodman[15] of the American Company and Mr. Allen of the Theatre Royal of Edinburgh."

One more season is to be noted, although not in Philadelphia, but in Charleston, S. C., which now became an important centre. This season extended from December 22, 1773, to May 19, 1774, and forty-eight distinct plays and twenty-nine farces were given. A complete list of performances is to be found in the *South Carolina Gazette.* It included nine Shakespeare plays, among them *Julius Caesar,* for the first time in America. All the authors previously mentioned were represented. Garrick with eight pieces; Otway, *The Orphan.* The season was a great success, and as the best society was fond of amusement, it was fashionable for ladies to be seen in public, while in the North ladies held themselves aloof. We note one play, *False Delicacy,*[16] by Kelly, and in connection with it *Falsche Scham,* by Kotzebue, "Schauspiel in vier Aufzügen, 1797"; London, 1798; New York, 1801.[17] It should be noted that Kotzebue went to the same French sources as the English, especially to Molière (cf. *Die Schule der Frauen, Lustspiel in 5 Aufzügen von Molière, frey doch getreu übersetzt,* 1815).

The season of Charleston, 1773-1774, was the very last work by the American Company before the Revolution. Seilhamer gives a list of five American plays previous to 1773, some of which we have already noted.

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[15] Supposed to be the first actor of American birth.

[16] Cf., p. 43 above.

[17] Cf. Wilkens.

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They were: *Prince of Parthia,* Godfrey, performed 1767; *Conquest of Canada,* Cuckings, 1773 and possibly earlier; *Disappointment,* Comic Opera, announced for February 16, 1767, Col. Thomas Forrest; *Mercenary Match,* at Yale College; *Barnaby Bidwell,* published 1785; of these, one, *Disappointment,* shows acquaintance with German, as seen above.[18]

Congress having passed, October 24, 1774, a resolution recommending a suspension of all amusements, the company went to the West Indies, to return to the southern part of the country in 1782, but not to Philadelphia until much later. For Philadelphia we have, therefore, to note a break as far as regular performances are concerned, from the latter part of 1773 to the spring of 1789, but we cannot ignore entirely the plays performed in Boston, New York and Philadelphia during the period of military occupation by the British. The spirit of these can be seen from a letter, cited by Seilhamer, of Thomas Stanley, second son of Lord Derby, to Hugh Elliott: "I hear a great many people blame us for acting, and think we might have found something better to do, but General Howe follows the example of the King of Prussia, who, when Prince Ferdinand wrote to him a long letter, mentioning all the difficulties and distresses of the army, sent back the following concise answer: *De la gaieté, encore de la gaieté, et toujours de la gaieté.* In Boston, Seilhamer thinks "the military Thespians under the ruling spirit of Burgoyne enjoyed the affectation of offending the New England sentiment, while in New York and Philadelphia, under Howe, these plays were more in the nature of the divertisement of an idle soldiery."[19]

Faneuil Hall was occupied as a theatre in 1775, and the Southwark Theatre, Philadelphia, from January 19, 1778, to May 19th of the same year, and New York from 1777 to 1782, where under Sir Henry Clinton the theatre was more on a business basis. For the whole list of first productions in America see Seilhamer II, p. 49. We note two as of interest, the *Rivals,* by Sheridan, and *Three Weeks After Marriage,* by Murphy.

[18] Cf. Note 8.

[19] Seilhamer II, p. 19.

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The beginning of the drama under the Republic dates from 1782 and is opened by a company of players preceding the return of the company from the West Indies. We note a season in Baltimore by Ryan's Company from January 15, 1782, to June 24th of the same year. Seilhamer cites a sentimnet from the prologue on the occasion of the play *Roman Father,* spoken by Heard: "You've fought like Romans; now like Romans feel"; being the first time that the patriots of the Revolution were complimented on their bravery, on the American stage. In line with this expression of patriotism was the performance during this season 1782 of *Gustavus Vasa,* by Brooke, inscribed to His Excellency, General Washington.

This play was ready for production at Drury Lane as early as 1738, but it was not played in London until 1805, and appeared on the Dublin stage under the name of *Patriot.* The critic in *Mirror of Taste,* 1810, vol. 2, states, referring to Baker's *Biographica Dramatica,* that "it is generally known that this tragedy, which was written anno 1738, was prohibited to be represented on account of its spirit of liberty by the Lord Chamberlain of England." The play was, however, immediately published and met with great success, bringing in £800. It was not played in Philadelphia until 1790 at the Southwark and 1795 at the Chestnut, and then again in the years 1807, 1808 and 1810, where the additional title is given, the *Deliverer of His Country,* which was also the secondary title of a play ascribed to Dimond, Jr., called the *Hero of the North,* a historical play given apparently for the first time in 1804, and also based on the life of Gustavus Vasa. Our interest in these plays is explained when we note the play of Kotzebue, *Gustav Wasa, Schauspiel in 5 Aufzügen,* Leipzig, 1801. It is in verse. We shall discuss these plays more in detail in connection with the season in which they occur. We pass by the Baltimore season of the Ryan Company in 1783, in which two pieces appear from the French, *Two Misers,* a farce by Kane O'Hara, Covent Garden, 1775, after *Les deux Avares,* comedy by Falbaine, and the *Cheats of Scapin* by Otway, translated from the *Forberies de Scapin* of Molière. In 1783 the British troops still occupied New York, and after a short season,

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from June 19th to August 16th, a shorter supplementary season took place in which the Military Thespians alternated with Ryan's Company, and the last plays, *Fatal Falsehood* and *Cross Purposes,* were given on October 25, 1783, just one month before the evacuation, November 25, 1783, and it is said "the soldiers retained their gaiety to the last, notwithstanding they had lost an empire."

In the Baltimore season that followed, from December 2, 1783, to February 14, 1784, we note the first performance of the *School for Scandal,* by Richard Brindley Sheridan, Drury Lane, 1777; but no notice seems to have been taken of it in the Baltimore paper. Seilhamer gives a list of plays by the American Company in Jamaica, from November 27, 1779, to June 3, 1780, of which we note three of Sheridan's plays, *Duenna, Rivals* and *School for Scandal,* new for the company; but, as we have seen, no longer new to America. They also brought with them a new pantomime, the *Triumph of Genius,* which indicates the Dutch influences they came in contact with.

Harlequin,	Cross Hitch,
Witch,	French Valet,
Morning,	Dutch Boor,
Van Dunder,	Columbia.

Another play, which was played in Jamaica first and became very popular in America afterwards, was *Tony Lumkin in Town,* by O'Keefe, and still another play, the *School for Soldiers; or, the Deserter,* because the scene of this was afterwards laid at Philadelphia. It was by Henry and is based on the same source as Dibdin's play, namely, Mercier's *Le Deserteur.*

Pennsylvania having passed a law prohibiting the theatre altogether, the plays that were given between 1782 and 1789, the date of the repeal of the law, are difficult to trace. In 1782 Alexander Quesnay planned to open the theatre with French comedy and English farce, but was forced to resort to an evasion of the law and opened as a "Academy of Polite Science." If it was thought feasible to give comedy in French at this time, we are not surprised at the numerous announcements in French of

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dances and pantomimes, such as *Les Grandes Ombres Chinoises, Les Petites Ombres Italiennes* and *La Fricasée,* though it is possible that these are also plays in disguise. There is record of a season in 1785, August 11th to November 1st, including mostly farces and only two full plays, one of which was new to America, the *Countess of Salisbury,* by Harksen, from Dr. Leland's romance, *Longswood, Earl of Salisbury* (Dublin, H. M. and Dr. L.). Of the two brief seasons in 1787 we note only one play, *Poor Soldier,* by O'Keefe, new to Philadelphia seasons, in which *Eduard and Eleonora,* Thomson, was announced as a "moral poem," *Jane Shore* as a tale and *Hamlet* as a "moral and instructive tale." Of the seasons in 1788, June 23d to July 26th, and October 27th to November 15th, it is equally difficult to give any list.

The Old American Company played in New York, Baltimore and Annapolis, and in Philadelphia at intervals under difficulties, while other companies were playing in Albany, N. Y. and still others in many places in the South, Savannah, Ga., Charleston, S. C., Norfolk and Richmond, Va., and Frederick, Md. The New York season of 1787-'88 shows a number of new plays, and from now on Cumberland and O'Keefe are more frequently represented, an interesting fact to note in connection with the coming German plays. We note *Mysterious Husband,* by Cumberland, based on Horace Walpole's *Mysterious Mother;* the *Castle of Andalusia,* by O'Keefe; the *Deserter,* by Dibden, from the French; the *School for Wives,* by Kelly; the *East Indian,* Haymarket version of 1782; the *Contrast,* in 5 Acts, by Royal Tyler, of Boston (†1824), had already appeared in 1786; according to Dunlap, on April 14, "the first American play that was successful in the theatrical meaning," and Dunlap claims it as the "first which had ever been got upon a regular stage by a regular company of comedians," overlooking the *Prince of Parthia,* of Godfrey, in 1767, and adds: "We thus arrive at the commencement of the American drama as united with the American theatre. It was considered defective in plot and dialogue and without incident, but not without some marking in characters." One of the characters, "Jonathan," was the first

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stage Yankee, and, according to Dunlap, "relished by an audience gratified by the appearance of home manufacture," a feeling which was soon exchanged for a most discouraging predilection for foreign articles and contempt for every home-made literary effort. Dunlap is here not referring so much to the German plays as such, but to the preference of English translations and adaptations over his translations and adaptations of the same, and between the lines we plainly read his chagrin over the neglect of his own plays of every kind. In another place he tells us of a ruse he used in maintaining the English title of the *Stranger* for one of his adaptations of Kotzebue's play in order not to lessen at the very beginning its popularity. I anticipate and speak of Dunlap and the New York season of 1789 before referring to that season in Philadelphia. This was the last year when anything like harmony was maintained in the old organization, that had so long held a monopoly of the American stage, and the outcome of the dissatisfaction was the erection of the Chestnut Street Theatre in 1791. The American spirit was beginning to assert itself and was no longer disposed to be content with the meagre theatrical service of the Colonial era. This new spirit found expression in Dunlap's prologue to the *Father,* and in the play itself and in the *Modest Soldier; or, Samuel Low in New York,* a comedy written in 1787, but not performed till 1789. In Dunlap's own words, the "object of the play was to soften the asperities which war had created, and to reconcile his countrymen to their British brethren." The play is afterwards known by the longer title of the *Father of an Only Child,* and interests us for the additional reason that "Jacob," a German soldier left behind by the auxiliaries of England, was the first introduction of the broken English that has resulted in the German dialect comedian.[20] Dunlap was clearly the first professional playwright in the United States; he wrote or adapted sixty-three pieces. Seilhamer's strictures on him in reference to his accuracy of statement are numerous and severe, and, according to my own experience, for the greater part deserved. He maintains that Dunlap's mistakes vitiate everything written since, down to the

[20] Seilhamer, p. 273.

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American supplement to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* But whatever may be said of his want of accuracy and his omissions, no fault can be found with his conceptions of an American Theatre, and even Seilhamer admits that "faulty as he was as a dramatist and a historian, he was in advance of his time." He recognized that the first American plays were only local in character, and objected to calling a piece American because it contains a Yankee character, a Jonathan, for "a clown is not the type of the nation he belongs to." For the translations and imitations of the French tragedy brought on the English stage he had no use and characterizes them as contemptible. It is significant that under those circumstances Dunlap should have turned to the German drama. He quotes, with approval, from an article by James K. Paulding on "National Drama," in the *American Quarterly Review,* No. 2: "By a national drama we mean, not merely a class of dramatic productions written by Americans, but one appealing directly to the national feeling—founded upon domestic incidents—illustrating or satirizing domestic manners, and, above all, displaying a generous chivalry in the maintenance and vindication of those great and illustrious peculiarities of situation and character by which we are distinguished from all other nations."

The Southwark Theatre, 1789.

Season of 1789, March 9th to April 4th, the first season under State authority since the Revolution. Many of the authors already mentioned are represented, and one new play of Shakespeare is given: *Much Ado About Nothing.* We note an increasing number of O'Keefe's plays, *Poor Soldier* and *Love in Camp,* the former having been performed first in 1786. The popularity of O'Keefe increased and he is the first dramatist to achieve extraordinary success in the United States; even Sheridan's comedies could not compare with his pieces. Seilhamer thinks this due "to the happy union of melody and harmony that always characterized his productions, and that this taste which gave O'Keefe such a great hold upon American audiences has never diminished, although the critics have condemned it for fully a

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century." The history of the taste for Kotzebue's pieces furnishes us an interesting parallel.

French characters in the English plays were, as a rule, not enviable ones, and Englishmen loved to paint the Frenchmen, their enemies, as trivial. But the French were the friends of America and the people, neither of New York nor of Philadelphia, would permit a slur upon the French, and so high did French feeling run in Philadelphia than on one occasion, on August 8, 1793, the audience rose and sang the *Marseillaise.* In discussing the omission of the Frenchman in Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm,* the French feeling will be again referred to, and we have here to note one of the first manifestations of it in connection with the first performance of O'Keefe's *Poor Soldier.* In *McLean's Journal* of March 21, 1786, appeared the following notice: "It is with real concern the subscribers learn that a character in the *Poor Soldier* has given umbrage to any frequenters of the theatre it is their duty and invariable study to please, not to offend, as a proof of which, they respectfully inform the public, that they have made such alterations in the part alluded to as they trust will do away with every shadow of offense."[21] The character "Bagatelle" was meant.

Philadelphia was at this time the metropolis of the country and had now again become the capital and began to assume the dignity of an independent theatre centre, so that from this date on plays in New York and other places will be only casually referred to.

Southwark Theatre. Season 1790, January 1st to July 19th. February 5th, the *Father,* Dunlap, first performance in Philadelphia. March 22nd, *Gustavus Vasa,* Brooke, first performance in Philadelphia. Of the other premieres of the season we note two by O'Keefe and one translation from the French, the *Widow of Malabar,* by Col. Dav. Humphreys, translated from the French of M. Le Mierre. *Southwark,* December 8th to July 11th, 1791. There is nothing to note in this season, in which new pieces are said to be mostly makeshifts; O'Keefe is well represented. May 28th to July 2nd, 1792. Nothing new except

[21] *McLean's Journal,* March 21, 1786.

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ballets and pantomimes; the years 1791 and 1792 appear as a transition period, and with the coming of distinguished actors and singers from England a new period was ushered in.

From 1780, a period even before the introduction of the regular drama, we have records of minor amusements, such as puppet shows, dissolving views, rope dancing and museums of curiosities and of war paintings. After the Revolution they assume a more permanent character, such as the Museum established by Ch. W. Peal, the painter, and known from 1792 on as Peale's Museum. Strollers sometimes occupied for short periods halls and temporary theatres, but there is no record of any plays except harlequinades. French strollers were especially common, such a company advertised in 1790 including the first lightning change artist, Beaufort. In 1791-92 a French strolling company, mostly dancers, under Du Moulain, played in conjunction with the Kenna family at Northern Liberties Theatre, but of the plays Seilhamer has no record except to say that there was nothing new and that the Kenna family also played in conjunction with amateurs in 1792, and that among the premieres of this season is found *Earl of Warwick,* a tragedy by Dr. Thomas Franklin, from the French of M. de la Harpe. Southwark, September 26th-January 12th, 1792-1793. Among the premieres of this season we note the appearance for the first time of plays by Holcroft, Mrs. Inchbald and Prince Hoare, each of whom is represented by a play, which remained popular for a long time. The play by Mrs. Inchbald, *Child of Nature,* betrays Spanish antecedents. A new pantomime, *Don Juan,* also shows Spanish origin. A farce, *Animal Magnetism,* by Mrs. Inchbald, which, however, was played first in New York in 1793, is of French origin. Another play by Dunlap, the *Wedding,* belongs to this New York season, which Dunlap does not mention in his book.

Southwark, July 1 to August 23, 1793. During this season French feeling ran high, as referred to already, and the shortness of the season was due to an outbreak of yellow fever, a circumstance which also delayed the opening of the Chestnut Street Theatre until 1794.

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The New York season 1793-94, the last under the management of Henry, included the play *Tammany,* by Mrs. Anna Julia Hatton, sister of Mrs. Siddons, which Dunlap as a Federalist could not but treat slightingly on account of its pronounced republicanism. Not a little sharp criticism of the day is explained by the political coloring of the plays or the political leanings of the critic. Another play by Dunlap, *Lord Leicester,* played at first as *Fatal Deception; or, the Progress of Guilt,* a tragedy written December, 1793, was performed for the first time on April 24, 1794. Both of these plays appear for the first time in Philadelphia in the last season of the old company at the Southwark in 1794. The other new plays were English pieces from Cumberland, O'Keefe, Mrs. Inchbald and Coleman, Jr., one of which, the *Surrender of Calais,* by Coleman, Jr., was from the novel, the *Siege of Calais,* 1751, and another, *Every One Has His Fault,* by Mrs. Inchbald includes several characters from her novel of *A Simple Story,* played in Philadelphia for the first time by the new company at the Chestnut. During this same New York season one of the actresses selected for her benefit *Liberty Restored.* Another actor, a few weeks later, produced a play called the *Patriot; or, Liberty Asserted.* Seilhamer affects to be puzzled by the choice of the first play as a benefit and tentatively says "that in the fact of Mr. Prigmore a few weeks later producing a piece called the *Patriot; or, Liberty Asserted,* may be found a possible explanation of the phenomenon"; adding, "that in consequence of the French Revolution and the establishment of the Swiss Confederation there was a great deal of cant about liberty with which the stage naturally sympathized." Whether it was cant due this time to the French Revolution or a more deep-seated feeling surviving from the struggle for independence fanned into flame again by secondary causes, there is no question that there was a demand, both public and political, for the production of such pieces. Earlier in 1782, *Gustavus Vasa; or, the Deliverer of His Country,* was the play which was made to reflect the aspirations for liberty, and now in 1794 it was a Greek subject in the one case and *William Tell* in the second. In the *Daily Advertiser,* in Philadel-

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phia, of March, 1794, several correspondents requested the managers of the New Theatre to perform an opera called *Helvetic Liberty; or, the Lass of the Lakes,* founded on the story of William Tell. The manager of the Chestnut seems to have resisted those appeals in 1794, but yielded in 1796, when another version was given and announced in the *Gazette:* "New Theatre, May 16th, *The Patriot; or, Liberty Obtained,* as altered from the play of *Helvetic Liberty,* and compressed into three acts by Mr. Bates, a member of the company." English authors, such as Cumberland and Mrs. Inchbald, who became leading translators of German plays, and where they did not adapt or translate outright, showed dependence for plot and characters, were becoming more and more popular. In 1796 Dunlap also put the story of William Tell into dramatic form with songs and choruses and called it an opera. Dunlap says the subject was suggested to him by an "English play recently published, utterly unfit and perhaps not intended for the stage." The opera was called *William Tell; or, the Archers,* and was produced for the first time in New York, April 18, 1796, and printed the same year. When we consider the growing popularity of the English authors mentioned and the fact that Schiller's *Robbers* was printed in New York in 1793 and performed in 1795, even if only inadequately, a play which so strongly reflects the aspirations for freedom, then we are not surprised at the appearance of the numerous Tell versions, which reflect at this time on the one hand the aspirations for freedom and on the other foreshadow the coming of the German plays.

Another *William Tell* appeared many years later by James Sheridan Knowles, in 1825, and some seasons was the most popular play and continued to be played as late as 1858. In connection with the first performance of any version of Tell at Philadelphia will be given the list of characters of all the versions for comparison. Of the other new productions during the New York season we note further, *Midnight Hour,* by Mrs. Inchbald, altered from the French of Beaumarchais, and another play, the *Young Quaker,* by O'Keefe, originally played in England in 1783, but delayed in America to avoid offense to the Quaker ele-

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ment. French feeling continued to run high and the subsequent season shows many contributions to the French partisanship of the period, such as the *Demolition of the Bastille,* and manifestations of disapproval of anything English on the part of the Democrats of Tammany Hall, even to the extent of ordering an actor playing Captain Flash (an English officer) to take off the English uniform.

Southwark. September 22 to December 4, 1794. New to Philadelphia were *Tammany,* October 10, 1794, by Mrs. Hatton; *Fatal Deception; or, the Progress of Guilt,* by Dunlap, and called by him the first American tragedy performed by professional players; it was afterwards published under the title *Lord Leicester.*

New to America were two pantomimes of French origin by French members of the company; *Love's Frailties,* a comedy, by Holecroft, Covent Garden; *Country Girl,* by Garrick, based on Wycherly's *Country Wife; Children in the Wood,* by Morton H., 1793, and *Haunted Tower,* by Cobb, Drury Lane, 1789, sixty nights. We note the beginning of "horror" pieces.

This was the last season in Philadelphia by the Old American Company. They yielded the field to the new company at the Chestnut Street house, and we shall note briefly a few plays of the old company's season 1794-1795 in New York. We note first another play by Dunlap, *Fountainville Abbey; or, the Mysterious Monk,* based on Mrs. Radcliff's *Romance of the Forrest,* first performance February 17, 1795; *Seduction,* by Holcroft, and an opera, *Jeanne d'Arc.*[22] In 1797 John Burk, author of *Bunker Hill,* wrote a tragedy, *Joan of Arc; or, the Maid of Orleans,* performed for the first time in April, 1798, in New York. Dunlap detested *Bunker Hill,* but was forced to give it, because it drew good houses, and he remarks: "the rage for novelty in Boston and the prevailing Jacobin spirit in the lower ranks are our strongest opponents."[23] But the most interesting play of the season was Schiller's *Robbers,* on May 14, 1795.[24]

[22] Cf., p. 40 above.

[23] Dunlap, p. 161.

[24] For all references to Schiller, Cf., *Schiller on the Philadelphia Stage,* by Charles F. Brede. *German American Annals,* New Series, Vol. 3, N. 6, 1905, pp. 254-275.

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It was the first performance in America and the first performance of any acknowledged German play in the North. For on February 18, 1795, Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm* had been given in Charleston, S. C. Unfortunately, the cast of the *Robbers* in New York is not preserved and the company was pronounced unequal to the task. The first performance of Schiller's play in America may fittingly close our references to the repertoire of the Old American Company, and we now turn to the consideration of the new company at the Chestnut Street Theatre.

III. The Period from 1794 to 1830.

The company was ready to begin in 1793, but could not open on account of the prevalence of yellow fever. The first season opened on February 17th, and lasted till July 18, 1794, under the management of Wignell and Reinagle,[1] both leading members of the old company, and the latter a musician and composer, thus emphasizing the important place the management intended to give to opera and musical plays, a plan which Wood claims was rather a disadvantage to the company. Wignell had engaged in England Mrs. Oldmixon, née George, H., 1783; Fennel, Covent Garden, 1787; Chalmers, Covent Garden, 1783; Mr. and Mrs. Whitlock, née Kemble, the youngest sister of Mrs. Siddons, and also as dancers Mr. and Mrs. Francis, Manchester and Birmingham, 1787. A short season at Annapolis, December 20, 1793, to January 24, 1794, was really the opening season of this company. Nothing new appeared except a dance, *Caledonian Frolic,* arranged by the leader of the ballet and pantomime, Mr. Francis, the other members being Mr. and Mrs. de Marque, Mme. Gardie and Mr. Bellina.

Chestnut Street Theatre, 1794. The first season of the new company in Philadelphia, February 17th to July 18th, opened with *The Castle of Andalusia* and *Who's the Dupe.* There were numerous new ballets and harlequinades arranged by Mr. Francis, some of which continued to be known in the French form, such as *L'Amour trouve les moyens,* but the name of the very

[1] Brother of the great London animal painter, and father of Hugh Reinagle, an accomplished scene painter.

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first, *Caledonian Frolic,* shows that other than French ballets and pantomimes were given; namely, Scotch reels, strathpeys and Irish lilts. One farce, *L'Americain ou L'homme raisonable,* was played in French, and others of French source were the *Barber of Seville, of Beaumarchais,* adapted to the English stage by G. Coleman, Sr., the *Widow of Malabar*[2] and a "Serious Pantomime," *Le Foret Noire; or, the Natural Son.* Shakespeare is represented by ten plays, fifteen performances. The premieres for the season were: *The Battle of Hersham,* Hist. Play, Coleman, Jr., June 9; *The Carmelite,* Trag., March 5th; *Every One Has His Fault,* Com., March 7th; *Hartford Bridge,* Op. F., by Pearce, May 30th; *How to Grow Rich,* Com., by Reynolds, first time in America, June 20th; *Julia; or, the Italian Lover,* Trag., by Jephson, May 28th; *Modern Antiques,* F. O'Keefe, June 2nd; *Peeping Tom of Coventry,* O'Keefe, April 23rd; *The Prize,* Op. Pl., Hoare, May 26th; *Quality Binding,* Dr. E., May 16th; *The Son in Law,* C. Op., O'Keefe, first time in America, April 2nd; *The Spoiled Child,* F., Bickerstaff, March 5th; *The Surrender of Calais; or, Gallic Patriotism,* H. Pl., Coleman, May 19th; *She Would and She Would Not,* Com., Colly Cibber, May 26th; *The Waterman,* C. Op., Dibden, June 23rd; *Ways and Means; or, a Trip to Dover,* Com., Coleman, July 11th; *The Woodman,* C. Op., Dudley, June 18th.

There were two new American plays, *The Embargo,* F., "by a citizen of Philadelphia," June 13th, and *Slaves in Algiers; or, a Struggle for Freedom,* Com., by Mrs. Rowson,[3] June 30th. Others to be noted are Milton's *Comus,* June 25th and July 11th; *Gustavus Vasa,* Trag., June 16th, and the "Serious Heroic Pantomime," *Female Heroism; or, Siege of Orleans,* June 27th; Overture by Martini, the rest of the music compiled from different French masters by Mr. Relain. The characters mentioned are[4] Joan of Arc (the Maid of Orleans), St. Dennis, Dunois (French General), La Tremouille, French Peasants, male and female prisoners.

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[2] Cf., p. 52 above, The Old Theatre, 1790.

[3] A member of the company.

[4] Cf., p. 40 above.

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Among the plays announced by booksellers were: By Mathew Carey, No. 618 Market street, June 1st, *Love in a Village,* C. Op., Bickerstaff, and March 31st, *Highland Reel,* Op., O'Keefe; *The Dramatist,* by Reynolds; *Lord of the Manor,* Bourgogne; *Maid of the Mill,* C. Op., Bickerstaff; *Gustavus Vasa, The Widow of Malabar, The Gamester,* C. Moore; *Suspicious Husband,* Com., Hoadley; *The Deserter,* C. Op., *No Song No Supper,* C. Op., Dibdin; *The Romp,* Mrs. F. Bickerstaff, and *Inkle and Jarico,* Coleman.

From September 25 to October 31, 1794, the company played in Baltimore, producing, however, nothing new.

Second Season in Philadelphia. December 8, 1794, to July 4, 1795.[5]

O'Keefe, Coleman, Jr., Cumberland, Holcroft, Mrs. Inchbald, Bickerstaff, Hoare, are well represented, besides Dibdin, Garrick, Sheridan, Moore, Murphy and Massinger. Shakespeare is represented by eight plays, nine performances, among them *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* for the first time in Philadelphia on June 1, 1795. Under the heading of "Theatrical Register" criticisms appeared in the *Gazette of the United States,* but the criticism is, unfortunately, mostly confined to the style of acting rather than to discussing the merits of the plays, except in the most general terms, such as *The Carmelite* is not one of Cumberland's best; *Tamerlane* is one of Rowe's best productions. Dances, ballets, pantomimes and musical diversions appear in French titles, often without any secondary title in English; *e. g., Les Amans d'Arcade, L'Amour trouve les moyens, Le Tuteur trompé, La Petite Pièdmontèse.* Four new plays from the French appeared this season: *The Child of Nature,*[6] by Mrs. Inchbald, from French of Mme. Genlis, December 21st; *Next Door Neighbors,* by Mrs. Inchbald, from *Le Dissipateur et L'Indigent,* and *Follies of a Day,* by Holcroft, from *Le Marriage de Figaro,* of Beaumarchais; *Midnight Hour,* Com., Inchbald, from French

[5] The material for these early seasons is based partly on Seilhamer, but revised from the files of the *Gazette of the U. S.*

[6] Cf. Note on *Lovers' Vows,* p. 108.

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of Beaumarchais, May 16th; *Ruse contre Ruse; The Prisoner,* Mus. Romance, from the French, May 29th. The new American pieces were: *The Volunteers,* C. Op., by Mrs. Rowson; *Little Yankee Sailor,* Com., an English nautical ballet localized by Mrs. Warrel,[7] and *Elopement,* a local pantomime, by Melbourne;[8] *Triumph of Love; or, Happy Reconciliation,* Com., by John Murdock, of Philadelphia, May 22nd. The premieres for the season besides those mentioned were: *The Apprentice,* F., by Murphy, May 18th, first in America; *Auld Robin Gray; or, Jenning's Return from America,* Pastoral Op., Arnold, May 4th; *Beaux Stratagems,* Com., Farquhar, April 15th;[9] *Better Late Than Never,* Com., Andrews, June 12th; *Bold Stroke for a Husband,* Com., by Mrs. Conley, May 20th; *Box Lobby Challenge,* by Cumberland, April 6th; *The Brothers; or, Shipwrecked Sailor's Return,* Com., by Cumberland, May 13th; *Chapter of Accidents,* Com., by Mrs. Lee, June 10th; *Conscious Lovers,* Com., by Sir R. Steele, May 25th; *Constant Couple,* Com., by Farquhar, June 3rd; *Defence of the Stage; or, Roman Actor,* Dr. Sketch compressed and altered from Massinger's *Roman Actor; Duke or no Duke,* F., Tate, May 18th, first time since Military Thespians, 1778; *Farm House,* F., by Kemble, March 4th; *Female Patriot,* Pl., June 19th, adapted by Mrs. Rowson from Massinger's *Bondsman;*[10] *The First Floor,* F., by Cobb, June 8th; *Fountainville Forest,* by James Boardon, based on Mrs. Radcliff's *Romance of the Forest;*[11] *Harlequin Hurry Scurry,* P., May 25th; *Haunted Tower,* by Cobb, February 18th; *The Heiress,* Com., by Gen. Bourgogne, April 29th; *The Jew,* by Cumberland, February 11th, the first instance of an honest and benevolent Jew in an English play; *Know Your Own Mind,* Com., by Murphy, May 4th; *Love in Camp; or, Patrick in Prussia,* Op., by O'Keefe, June 29th; *Major of Garrat,* F., by Foote,

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[7] A member of the company.

[8] A member of the company and scene painter.

[9] By "Première" is to be understood first time in Philadelphia, when it is the first time in America it will be so stated. But the theatre announcements in the newspapers, "first time in Philadelphia," cannot always be relied upon.

[10] Cf. p. 54 above.

[11] Cf. *Fountainville Abbey,* by Dunlap.

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June 5th; *My Grandmother,* by Mrs. F. Hoare, first time in America, April 26th; *A New Way to Pay Old Debts,* Com., by Massinger, May 11th; *The Noble Peasant; or, Valour Rewarded,* C. Op., by Holcroft, May 8th, first time in America, Haymarket, 1784; *Poor Vulcan,* Burletta, by Dibden, March 28th, first time in America, Covent Garden, 1778; *The Quaker; or, Benevolent Friend,* by Mrs. F. Dibden, May 13th; *The Rage,* Com., by Reynolds, first time in America, June 22nd; *Rural Revels,* P., April 6th; *Set a Beggar on Horseback and He Will Ride to the Devil,* Dr. Proverb, by O'Keefe, May 11th; *She Stoops to Conquer; or, Mistakes of a Night,* by Goldsmith, April 26th; *The Sicilian Romance; or, the Apparition on the Cliffs,* Mus. Dr. Tale, Siddons, May 6th, "now performing at Cov. Garden, London with unbounded applause"; *Suspicious Husband,* Com., by Hoadley, May 18th; *Tamerlane; or, the Fall of Bayazet, Emperor of the Turcs,* Trag., by Rowe, April 22nd; *The Toy; or, Trip to Hampton Court,* Com., by O'Keefe, May 29th.

During the season in Baltimore, June 29th-December 3rd, nothing new was given except a few pantomimes, and these, as usual, are given with French titles: *Les deux Chasseurs, Les Marchandes de Mode, Le Marechal des Logis.*[12]

Third Season in Philadelphia, December 14, 1795-June 30, 1796.

This season is characterized by the first acknowledged German play. On June 17, 1796, was given *The Disbanded Officer; or, the Baroness of Bruchsal,* "translated from a German Comedy, written by Lessing, called Meina (sic) Von Barnhelm. For the first time in America." The company either was not aware or overlooked the fact that the play had already been given the year before in Charleston, S. C., on February 18, 1795.[13] It was an English adaptation by Johnstone, and given for the first time in English at the Haymarket, London, 1786.[14] Another

[12] For a list of the members of the company at this time see Seilhamer (1795-1796).

[13] Cf. Seilhamer III, p. 217, and Wilkens, p. 111.

[14] Cf. *Gazette of the U. S.,* June 17, 1796.

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play of Lessing had, however, been translated and published in America, but not produced. In 1789 or 1790 appeared a translation of Lessing's *Miss Sara Sampson,* by David Rittenhouse, a Pennsylvanian.[15] Wilkens did not see a copy and no record of any performance was found. The characters given in the *United States Gazette* are: Col. Holberg (the disbanded officer), Paul Waurmans, Katzenbuckle, Rouf, Count Belair, Messenger Boy, Baroness of Bruchsal, Lisette, Mrs. Marloff. In the Charleston performance the cast is incomplete, and is given in different order. Col. Holberg, Rouf-Skatzenbuckle, Bellair, Messenger, Paul Waurmans, Lisette. We note that the Frenchman Riccaut de la Marlinière is omitted. This is significant. Public feeling would not have tolerated even so slight a slur on the French at this time, nor earlier. And again at a later period, about 1810, such characters were not tolerated. In 1786 the character of Bagatelle in the *Poor Soldier,* by O'Keefe, was seriously objected to, as will appear from the following: "It is with real concern that subscribers learn that a character in the *Poor Soldier* has given umbrage to any frequenters of the theatre. It is both their duty and invariable study to please, not to offend, as a proof of which, they respectfully inform the public, that they have made such alterations in the part alluded to as they trust will do away with every shadow of offence."[16] In Philadelphia this play had to be withdrawn, so great was the opposition to the character.

Wood, in speaking of the objection raised by a large part of the audience to a certain passage in *Henry V* (played in 1809), "to such an extent that it was not thought advisable to repeat the play," goes on to say: "At an earlier period of our national history the sensitiveness to the character of our former allies would have surprised no one. The significant character of *Bagatelle* in the *Poor Soldier* was, I remember, in my younger days, while the memory of the Revolutionary War was yet fresh, the same signal of merciless insult and outrage on the miserable

[15] Cf. Wilkens, p. 111, and also *Memoirs of the Life of David Rittenhouse,* by W. Barton, Philadelphia, 1813, p. 495.

[16] Cf. Dunlap, p. 74, also *McLean's Journal,* March 21, 1796.

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actor who was compelled to play it." Later this character was changed to a mulatto from the West Indies.

No note seems to have been taken of this performance of Lessing's play in the Philadelphia papers. Goodnight [17] cites only two references to Lessing in the magazines prior to 1795, and Davis [18] gives two translations from Lessing for 1798, one of a short poem and one of a fable.

Next to German plays proper we note some plays dealing with German subjects and which German poets, especially Schiller and Goethe, chose for their dramas.

On May 16, 1796, was given *The Patriot; or, Liberty Obtained,* Historical Drama, as altered from the play of *Helvetic Liberty* and compressed into three acts by Mr. Bates.[19] In 1794 the matter was already being considered, as appears from references in the papers, especially by one correspondent in the *American Daily Advertiser*.[20] "The Friends of the Drama await with emotions of anxiety the performance of that truly admirable piece entitled *Helvetic Liberty*. That bold vein of Freedom, which flows thro every part of it and which was the cause of its exclusion from the British stage, will ensure it the most favorable reception with every True American." It would seem that preparations to give this play at the Chestnut were being made in 1794, but we find no record of any actual performance until May 16, 1796, in the somewhat changed form. On April 28, 1794, *The Patriot; or, Liberty Asserted,*[21] had appeared on the New York stage, and on April 22, 1796, *The Archers; or, Mountaineers of Switzerland,* an opera in three acts, by Dunlap, was given for the first time in New York.[22] . . .

The Philadelphia play was not repeated, but few plays had

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[17] Cf. *German Literature in American Magazines, Prior to* 1846, by Scott Holland Goodnight, Ph.D., *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin,* N. 188. Madison, Wisconsin, December, 1907, pp. 17, 29, 31.

[18] *Translations of German Poetry in American Magazines,* 1741-1810, Edward Ziegler Davis, Ph.D., Philadelphia, *Americana Germanica* Press, 1905, p. 33.

[19] Cf., p. 55 above.

[20] Dunlap and Claypoole's *American Daily Advertiser.*

[21] Cf. Seilhamer, p. 90.

[22] Cf. Dunlap, p. 147.

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any runs during these early seasons. The only other reference to the play this season is on June 22nd, when "The Invocation to Liberty from *The Patriot* was sung by Mr. Darley." From 1819 on this Swiss subject seems to have aroused interest again, as appears from such plays as *The Devil's Bridge, Sigesmar the Switzer; or, The Helvetian Patriots,* by E. Walker, London; *Altorf,* Trag., by Francis Wright (Fannie Wright), January 5, 1820; and *Fredolfo,* by R. C. Maturin. With the announcement of *The Devil's Bridge* we find generally added: "in which Mr. Darley as Count Belino will sing the following songs: . . . and *William Tell,* the patriot of Switzerland, composed by Braham, also called a cantata." On November 28, 1825, Sheridan Knowles' play *William Tell; or, The Hero of Switzerland,* which, as we know, is an adaptation of Schiller's *William Tell,* was given for the first time.[23] For convenience the casts of four of the *Tell* plays are given here:[24]

The Patriot; or, Liberty Asserted. N. Y., April 28, 1794.

William Tell
Melchdale
Edwald
Grissler
Werner
Lieutenant
Provost
Serena
Lucella
Marina

The Patriot; or, Liberty Obtained, Hist. Play, from *Helvetic Liberty,* by Bates. Phila., May 16, 1796.

Albert
Oscar
Provost of city
Edwald
Corporal Popgun
1st Citizen
William Tell (The Patriot)
Tell's son
Walter of Uri
Old man of the mountain
A Court Fool (with songs)
Archers
Marina
Serena

[23] Cf. Brede in *German American Annals,* Schiller Number, June, 1905, p. 269.
[24] Cf., *ibid.*

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The Archers; or, Mountaineers of Switzerland. Opera, by Dunlap. New York, April 22, 1796.

William Tell
Walter Fürst
Werner Staffach of Schwitz
Arnold Melchthal of Unterwalden
Gestler—Austrian Gov. of Uri
Lieutenant of Gessler
Burgomaster of Altorf
Conrad, seller of Wooden ware in Altorf
Leopold, Duke of Austria
Bowmen
Pikemen
Portia, Tell's wife
Cicily, basket woman
Boy, Tell's son
Maidens of Uri

William Tell; or, Hero of Switzerland, by Sheridan Knowles. Philadelphia, November 28, 1825.

William Tell
Albert, his son
Melctal
Erni
Fürst
Verner
Michael
Pierre
Theodore
Emma, wife of Tell
Austrians
Gessler
Sarnen
Rudolph
Lutold
Gerard
Guards
Peasants
Braun
Jagheli
Struth
Ameli
Agnes

The Faust legend appeared as a stage piece for the first time in America as a Harlequinade, on June 3, 1796. It had been published at Worcester in 1795, as an addition to the *Life and Death of Dr. John Faustus, D. D.,* under the title *The Necromancer; or, Harlequin Dr. Faustus,* with the added remark, "as performed at the Theatres." As this is a reprint of an English print,[25] the remark refers, no doubt, to performances

[25] Cf. Wilkens, p. 169, N. 25 and 26, also other references to the Faust publications, N. 115 and 176.

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at English theatres. It was not repeated this season and nothing of the kind appears until the season of 1808, when it appears again January 1st, as *Harlequin Dr. Faustus; or, the Punishment of Profligacy,* as given 100 nights in London. As a drama it appears during the season of 1829-1830 at the Walnut Street Theatre, the first time in Philadelphia, as *The Devil and Dr. Faustus,* celebrated tale, Grand Romance, and at the Arch Street Theatre the same season as *Faustus,* Romantic Drama. The announcement in full for June 3, 1796, is:[26] *Harlequin Dr. Faustus; or, the Devil Will Have His Own,* first time in America, pantomime entertainment, the greater part entirely new with a few select scenes from the most appropriate compositions.

Scene I. The Study of Faustus:

Azuria——Celestial Spirit, Harlequin Dr. Faustus, Mephistopheles (with a song)—Good Spirit—Evil Spirit—Dance of Furies.

Helen of Troy (with a song). Music of this scene, with an introductory symphony by Mr. R. Taylor.

II. Scene. Landscape and Water Mill: Miller—Miller's son — Miller's wife — Bridesmaids — Clown — Columbine—the magical screen of Scaramouch.

III. Scene. A Cottage which changes to an Inn—Landlady.

IV. Scene. A street, in which is introduced a trick Sedan chair—Chairmen—Pigmies (with a reel).

V. Scene. A chamber with a trick bottle and a Beauffet (Buffet), which changes into a book case.

VI. Scene. Woods. VII. Cavern. Downfall of Faustus. The Pantomime concludes with a view of the temple of Glory. Aerial spirits in the chariot and a grand Ballet. Music from Haydn, Plegel, Shield, Reeve, etc.

Shakespeare is represented by ten plays, eleven performances. *Coriolanus* was given for the first time in Philadelphia, as altered by J. Kemble, Esq., June 3, 1796. Of new French pieces

[26] Cf., season 1829-1830.

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we note *La Boiteuse,* Pantomime from the Italian Theatre in Paris, December 30th, and other pantomimes. *The Married Man,* from *Le Philosophe Marié,* of M. Destouches, by Mrs. Inchbald; *The Miser,* Com., April 8th; *The Mock Doctor,* translated from Molière's *Le Medecin malgré lui,* June 20th; *The Widow's Vow,* from the French by Mrs. Inchbald, February 5th. The premieres for the season besides those mentioned were: *All in the Wrong,* Com., by A. Murphy, April 4th; *The American Tar,* Ballet, June 17th; *As It Should Be,* Dr. trifle, February 19th; *The Banknote,* Com., January 1st, first time in America from Covent Garden, London; *Barnaby Brittle,* F., May 16th; *The Count of Narbonne,* Trag., from Walpole's Romance of the *Castle of Otranto,* by Robert Jephson, Esq.; *Cretchet Lodge; or, Spouting Landlord,* F., June 24th; *The Deaf Lover,* F., January 18th; *The Deserted Daughter,* by Th. Holcroft, April 29th; *Doctor and Apothecary,* C. Op., May 20th; *The Earl of Essex,* Trag., March 28th; *First Love; or, the French Emigrant,* by R. Cumberland, May 23rd; *The Maid of the Oaks; or, A Fête Champètre,* Com., May 23rd, Drury Lane 100 nights; *A Mogul Tale,* F., by Mrs. Inchbald, March 11th; *The Mountaineers,* Play, by G. Coleman, Jr., April 18th; *The Revenge,* Trag., June 20th; *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife,* Com., altered by Garrick from Beaumont Fletcher, April 22nd; *The School for Soldiers,* Dr., June 15th; *Speculation,* by Reynolds, May 20th; *The Suicide,* Com., by Coleman; *Two Strings to Your Bow,* F., April 22nd;[27] *The Wheel of Fortune,* Com., by Cumberland, January 13th; *Zara,* Trag., February 23rd.

Fourth Season in Philadelphia. December 5, 1796, to May 6, 1797, followed by a short summer season, July 5 to July 14, 1797. Numerous criticisms appear about this time in the daily papers. Most of them refer to the actors and deal in generalities; here and there one throws an interesting side light on the attitude of part of the public toward the kind of plays, which were then becoming popular and which foreshadowed the Kotzebue plays. So we read in the *Gazette of the United States,* on December

[27] Altered from the farce *The Hotel,* can this be the same as *The German Hotel?*

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14, 1796: "The Managers of the Theatre have, it seems, fallen under the displeasure of that Atlas, the very popular *Philadelphia Gazette,* for bringing forward the 'stale dramas of the worm eaten Shakespeare.' For our part we would wish to see the Immortal Bard of Nature more frequently resorted to, whence to draw relief and relaxation from the dramaturgical cant, nonsense and plagiarisms of modern Cumberlands and Inchbalds."

December 17th, a French company was announced: "Ever solicitous to vary and improve the Entertainments of the New Theatre, and evince their gratitude for the patronage they receive, respectfully inform the Public, that they have in addition to their present Establishment engaged a French Company of Comedians, who will make their first appearance in this city, this Evening, Saturday, December 17th, in the Comedy of *Le Tableau Parlant; or, the Speaking Figure.*" The announcements in the papers, however, for this season are very meagre and so it is difficult to decide whether the *Werther* announced on the three dates was given in English or by the French company. There seem to have been three performances, on April 7th, 8th and 10th. As there is an announcement on April 8th: "Last Night of Performance before the Easter Holidays," and actually an intermission occurs to April 17th, the French company may have had the date of April 10th, to themselves, or the programme announced for April 7th; *Werter,* Tragedy, and *Little Hunchback,* Farce, may have been postponed from date to date. April 7th, is announced as Mrs. Harwood's Benefit night, which fact argues more for an English version. In New York, *Werter and Charlotte,* a tragedy, based on Goethe's novel, and said to have been written by Reynolds when but a boy at Westminster school, had been given in 1796. The cast shows the following characters: Sebastian, Lathrop, Albert, Laura, Charlotte. Another performance in New York took place March 22, 1797. Seilhamer also records one at the Haymarket Theatre, Boston, on May 29, 1796.[28] We hear nothing more of it until 1827, when a French

[28] For publications and translations, of Goethe's *Werther;* Cf. Wilkens, 8, 10, 27, 39, 118, 119; also 35, 40 and 120. Cf., also for references to *Werther* prior to 1800 in the magazines, Goodnight, pp. 22-26.

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company playing a short season at the Chestnut Street Theatre announces it with French title: *Les Egarements d'un Coeur sensible.*

Another argument in favor of the English version is that the French company seems to have been more an operatic company, as the performances are mostly mentioned as Comic Opera and Ballet, while *Werther* is announced as a tragedy. The plays announced as given by the French company were: *Blaize et Babet,* January 7th; *Les Deux Chasseurs et la Laitière,* Com. Op., December 16th; *Les Deux Petits Savoyards,* Com. Op., January 14th; *La Melomanie,* Op., December 30th and January 14th; *Les Souliers Mordorés,* Op., December 24th; *Le Tableau Parlant,* Com. Op., December 17th and January 21st. Other new plays from the French were: *The Anatomist; or, the Sham Doctor,* F., January 10th; *The Savoyard; or, Repentant Seducer,* Mus. Dr., July 12th. Shakespeare is represented by twelve plays and fourteen performances, among them for the first time in Philadelphia, *Henry IV.,* first part, December 14th; *King Lear,* April 19th, and *Much Ado About Nothing,* April 21st. Among the premieres for this season we note besides those mentioned: *The Abbey of St. Augustine,* Trag., written by a resident of Philadelphia, March 20th, and repeated on two other dates; *The Adopted Child,* Mus. E., April 3rd; *Alonzo and Imogen; or, Bridal Spectre,* taken from the Poetic Tale of that name in the Novel of the *Monk,* as performed in London 100 nights (5th season)"; *The Choice; or, Love or Honor,* Com., May 5th; *Columbus,* Hist. Play, January 30th, and repeated eight times more. *The Doldrum; or, 1804,* F., March 31st; *Heigho for a Husband,* Com., April 24th; *The Iron Chest,* by Coleman, founded on the Novel of Caleb Williams and performing at the Theatre in London, for the first time in America, April 17th; *The Ransomed Slave,* altered by Mr. Merry from his play *Lorenzo,* March 29th; *The School for Citizens,* Com.; *Way to Get Married,* Com., Covent Garden thirty-nine nights, February 13th, and repeated seven times.

It appears that about this time occasional comedies, farces and musical comedies were given at Ricket's Amphitheatre, also

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mentioned as Pantheon and Ricket's Amphitheatre, corner Chestnut and Sixth Streets. We note occasional references to *Oscar* and *Malvina, Robinson Crusoe, Catharine and Petruchio, The Ghost, The Purse,* but the very incomplete announcements make any listing for the season impossible. Notices appear also of the opening of the New Circus or Lailson's Circus, South Fifth Street, April 8th, with Heroic Pantomimes such as *Les Quatres Fils Aymons; or, The Four Valiant Brothers, Charlemagne, Roland.* At the Old Theatre Sg. Falconi announces Natural and Philosophical Experiments.

Fifth Season, December 11, 1797, to May 5, 1798.

The announcements in the papers for this season are even briefer than for the preceding season and quite irregular, leaving occasional breaks of one or two dates. New plays from the French were *Fénélon; or, the Nuns of Cambray,* "from the French play of that name, performed at Paris with unbounded applause," and *Richard Coeur de Lion,* "a Historical Romance, taken from the French of M. Sedaine." Shakespeare is represented by six plays, six performances in all. New for the season besides the plays from the French were: *Abroad and at Home,* C. Op., January 12th; *The Author,* Com., by Samuel Foote, March 7th; *Death of General Wolfe,* Serious Pantomime, April 27th; *The Enchantress; or, Cymon and Sylvia,* Mus. Rom., by Coleman, March 26th; *The Humorist,* Com., April 7th; *The Italian Monk,* by J. Boaden, first time in America, April 11th; *Neck or Nothing,* F., April 11th; *Tancred and Sigismunda,* Trag., by Thompson, March 23rd; *Tit for Tat,* Com., April 27th; *The Will; or, School for Daughters,* Com., by Reynolds, January 24th; *Wives As They Were and Maids As They Are,* Com., by Inchbald, December 13th.

Up to this time something of Lessing, Schiller and Goethe had appeared on the American stage, and similar themes were attracting authors in England and Germany. Plays dealing with liberty and patriotism, such as *Gustavus Vasa* and *William Tell,* were enthusiastically received in America and are found in numerous versions, the former appearing as a fitting play for the cele-

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bration of Washington's birthday; but the real German influence had not yet appeared. It was Kotzebue's plays beginning in the following season which made German matters the general topic of interest.

Sixth Season, February 6, 1799, to May 25, 1799.

There is no record of any play during December, 1798, nor in January, 1799. According to Dunlap, the Philadelphia company went to Annapolis after the season in Baltimore. The German plays for this season were: *The Stranger,* April 21st,[29] May 13th; *The Robbers,* April 26th; *Lovers' Vows,* May 24th, 25th, three plays, seven performances in all. *The Stranger.* The announcement appears with cast as follows: April 1, 1799. *The Stranger; or, Misanthrope and Repentance,*[30] for the first time in Philadelphia. The Stranger—Wignell, Count Wintersen—Downie, Baron Steinfort—Marshall, Solomon—Francis, Peter—Blisset, Francis—Fox, Old Man—Morris, William—Master Harris, Children—Master Warrel and Miss Hardinge, Mrs. Haller—Mrs. Merry, Countess Wintersen—Mrs. Hardinge, Ann—Mrs. Francis. Dunlap[31] is not mentioned as the translator, and so we presume that, as in *Lovers' Vows,* where the English version is mentioned, this was also an English version and most likely Sheridan's.[32] The title, *The Stranger,* had been anticipated by the French translator Faurelet de Bourrienne, who used the title *L'inconnu* as early as 1792;[33] other translations and versions under this same title appeared up to 1799. April 26, 1799, *The Robbers,* translated from the German of Schiller, was given with this cast: Maximilian, Count de Moor—Wignell,

[29] No announcement was found for the date intervening between April 1st and April 27th; but as the performance on April 27th is announced as the third one, and one May 13th as the fourth, a performance must have taken place between April 1st and 27th.

[30] *Menschenhass und Reue.* Ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen (Berlin, 1789-1790; Leipzig, 1797); Weimar, 1787.

[31] Cf. Wilkens, pp. 112, 113 and 114.

[32] Cf. *Kotzebue in England,* Walter Sellier, Diss. Leipzig, 1901, pp. 9-16. Thompson's translation was prepared for the stage by Sheridan.

[33] Cf. Ch. Rabany, *Kotzebue, Sa vie et son Temps. Ses Oeuvres dramatiques.* Berger-Levrault et Co. Paris. Nancy, 1893, p. 457.

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Charles de Moor—Marshall, Francis de Moor—Fox, Spiegelberg —Francis, Switzer—Warrel, Grim—Warrel, Jr., Roller—Bernard, Hermann—Downie, Schufterle—Blisset, Razman—Warrel, Commissary — Darley, Kozinsky — Hardinge, Robbers— Amalia—Mrs. Merry. "In Act 5 a splendid representation of De Moor's Castle in Flames. Between the Play and the Farce the favorite Song of the United Volunteers, by Mrs. Fox, to which will be added a favorite Comedy called *The Midnight Hour.*"[34] The French form of the names, Count de Moor, Charles de Moor, etc., are due to the fact that the first English translation by A. F. Tyler, later Lord Woodhouselee, which was presented in Philadelphia in 1793,[35] was based on a French version. Coleridge, who knew the play from Lord Woodhouselee's translation, speaks in a letter to Southey of "that Count de Moor, horrible wielder of heart withering virtues."[36] William B. Wood, who appeared for the first time as "Charles de Moor" in 1806, refers in the chapter dealing with the season 1802-1803, to this first performance of *The Robbers:* "Up to this time our theatre relied for the support of first tragic characters on the occasional but frequent visits of Fennel and Cooper. In their absence some droll personations took place. The play bills record Marshall (the singer, and an actor of the feeblest powers) as the first 'Charles de Moor.'[37] As we note by the cast given, the episode of Kozinski was not omitted in this version as it was in the version used by Wood, who, in discussing the danger of arbitrary changes made in the case of German plays, justifies the changes made in the case of *Robbers* in the version used at the Chestnut after 1806: "In *The Robbers* the episode of Kozinski and the disguise scenes of Charles as Count are omitted with great advantage to the general interest of the piece, and particularly as they affected the position and value of Amalia." And again in a note on the

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[34] For similar conditions under which such plays were necessarily mutilated; cf., instance cited by Wilkens, p. 165, of the first performance of *Don Carlos* in New York.

[35] Cf. Wilkens, App. 22, 1793.

[36] Cf. *The German Influence on Samuel Taylor Coleridge; An Abridgment of a Thesis,* by John Louis Haney, Philadelphia, 1902, p. 21.

[37] Cf. Wood, p. 185 and note.

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same page referring to a performance about the time of publishing his book, 1855: "This play was recently well performed by Andersen. I could not, however, but regret that he had not adopted the acting version which we formerly used, in which the scenes and speeches I refer to are omitted."[38]

May 24, 1799. *Lovers' Vows.*[39] A celebrated Comedy taken from the German of Kotzebue, author of the *Stranger,* and adapted to the English stage by Mrs. Inchbald, was performed. Count Wildenheim—Warren, Count Cassel—Hardinge, Anhalt —Marshall, Verdun—Bernard, Frederick—Cain, Cottager—Wignell, Landlord—Francis, Agathe—Mrs. Morry, Amalia—Mrs. Marshall, Cottager's wife—Mrs. Morris. So far no criticisms of these plays appear. Wood does not discuss them until the next season. Wilkens cites in the publications during this year but one of them, *The Stranger,* by A. Schink,[40] which version, however, according to Sellier,[41] was refused by the theatres D. L. and C. G. Goodnight cites the first account of Kotzebue in the periodical literature as occurring in 1799; namely, in *Monthly Magazine,* N. Y., I:76; but nothing seems to have appeared in any Philadelphia publication.[42]

No new French plays are noted for this season. Shakespeare is represented by two plays, *Henry IV,* February 24th, and *Romeo and Juliet,* March 20th, one performance of each. New plays to be mentioned are: *Knave or Not,* Com., by Holcroft, February 11th; *He is Much to Blame,* Com., April 3rd; *False Impressions,* first time in America, by Cumberland, May 1st; *Blue Beard; or, Female Curiosity,* Dr. Rom., by G. Coleman, 150 nights at D. L., May 24th, on the same night with *Lovers' Vows; The Catch Club; or, the Sons of Anacreon,* Mus. Interlude.

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[38] Cf. Brede, in *German American Annals,* June, 1905.

[39] *Das Kind der Liebe,* Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen, zum ersten Male aufgeführt auf dem Liebhaber Theater zu Reval, 10. Februar, 1790.

[40] Cf. Wilkens, p. 173, N. 44.

[41] For a discussion of this English version cf. Sellier, pp. 16-22. It was translated by an unnamed German, and prepared for the stage by Mrs. Inchbald at the request of the Director of Covent Garden theatre. Mrs. Inchbald knew no German, but made a version suitable to English taste. The first performance took place October 11, 1798, in Covent Garden. The criticism was very favorable and the season shows 42 performances.

[42] Cf. Goodnight, pp. 30-31.

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Seventh Season, December 4, 1799, to May 19, 1800.

The German plays for this season were: *The Stranger,* December 4th, 26th, January 10th, February 8th, April 30th; *Lovers' Vows,* December 6th, February 14th; *The Horse and the Widow,* December 16th, April 2nd, May 16th; *Reconciliation; or, Birthday,* January 20th, 24th, 27th, 31st, February 10th, March 3rd, May 5th; *Count of Burgundy,* February 19th, 21st, 24th; *False Shame; or, The American Orphan in Germany,* April 14th; *Sighs; or, The Daughter,* April 16th; *Wild Goose Chase,* April 26th, 30th; *Pizarro,* May 14th, 16th, 17th, 19th. There were twenty-eight performances in all of nine different plays, all of Kotzebue. Seven plays were new to Philadelphia, and of those two were performed for the first time in America; namely, *Reconciliation* and *Sighs.* In connection with the plays already performed last season, the following announcements appear: "*The Stranger,* December 4th, as performed at the theatres in Baltimore, New York and London with unbounded applause." On December 14, 1799, George Washington died; the announcements appeared on December 18th. The Theatre remained closed for one week, till December 26th, on which occasion was announced a "Monody on the death of the much lamented the late General in Chief of the Armies of the United States."[43] The play for this night was *The Stranger,* and on January 11th, this same play was given "by desire." *Lovers' Vows* was given December 6th, "a celebrated Comedy (taken from the German of Kotzebue). Performed at the Theatres of London, Boston, Baltimore and New York." Then came "*The Horse and the Widow,* a Farce, altered from the German of Von Kotzebue and adapted for the English stage by Mr. Dibdin, Author of *Jew and Doctor,* etc., now performing at Theatre of Covent Garden with distinguished applause."[44] On all three occasions the play was given as the after piece, without mention of any

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[43] *Gazette of the U. S.* On December 30th this Monody was repeated, "The President of the United States intending to honor the Theatre with his presence."

[44] *Die Witwe und das Reitpferd, Eine dramatische Kleinigkeit,* 1796.

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cast.[45] Further we learn: "January 20, will be presented a new Comedy never acted in America, called *Reconciliation; or, the Birthday,* translated from the German of Kotzebue by Mr. Dibdin, and acted at Covent Garden Theatre with unbounded applause."[46] The cast is given as follows: Captain Bertram—Warren, Mr. Bertram—Wignell, Harry—Wood, Jack Junk—Bernard, Lawyer Circuit—Blisset, William—Warrel, Jr., Servant—Hook, Emma—Mrs. Morry, Mrs. Moral—Mrs. Francis, Anna—Mrs. Doctor.

A later announcement, January 22nd, stated that the play was renewed on Monday evening with the most distinguished marks of approbation and will be repeated on Friday; later it is referred to as the much admired Comedy, and on March 3rd, "by particular desire, for the last time this season," although on May 5th it was given once more "toward the establishment and increase of a Fund for the Benefit of such performers, who from age or infirmities may be obliged to retire from the stage."

Wilkens gives 1809 as the date of the publication of Dunlap's translation *Fraternal Discord,* but omits the date of translation.[47] This must have been in 1800 judging from the position of the reference in Dunlap's book, but his version certainly was not yet available for this Philadelphia season. Dunlap says "he adapted *Fraternal Discord* from Kotzebue's *Bruders Zwist* and made it more English than any of the previous pieces, particularly in the prominent characters of Captain Bertram and his old brother sailor and boatswain. The merits of the piece have been so far acknowledged by English managers and actors and even by American audiences as to obtain a preference to the foreign version from the same source."[48]

On February 19th of this season was performed "for the

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[45] For a discussion of this English version cf. Sellier, pp. 28-31. Translated by Anne Plumptree and prepared for the stage by Th. Dibdin at the request of the director of Covent Garden theatre. The first performance took place May 4th, 1799, and by May 30th it had been given six times. The criticism was mainly favorable but with some sharp raps at Kotzebue himself.

[46] *Die Versöhnung, Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen,* 1798.

[47] Cf. Wilkens, App. N. 132.

[48] This last remark refers, of course, to a later period.

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first time in America *Count of Burgundy,*[49] a play in four acts, adapted to the American stage by a citizen of the United States,[50] written by Augustus Von Kotzebue." There were three performances this season and so it seems to have been a little more successful than the version which appeared in Covent Garden Theatre, London, on April 12, 1799. This Covent Garden version was based on Miss Plumptre's translation and prepared for the stage by the actor Alexander Pope to be given on the day of his benefit,[51] which, according to Sellier, is the last we hear of it in London. The cast of the American version is given in almost the same order as the original German, and the play shows fewer changes than some of the others: Father Peter—Wignell, Henry—Cain, Chevalier von Hellwyl—Warren, Count Hugo—Darley, Chevalier Walter von Blonay—Bernard, Nicholas—Blisset, Martin—Warrel, Jr., Block—Warrel, Old Man—Morris, Elizabeth von Hellwyl—Mrs. Morry, Gertrude—Mrs. Francis, Young Woman—Mrs. Snowden, Little Girl—Miss Solomon, Matilda (Countess Dowager of Burgundy)—Mrs. Morris.

April 14th. *"False Shame; or, the Orphan in Germany,* a Comedy for the first time in Philadelphia, from the German of Augustus Von Kotzebue—Performed at the Imperial Theatre, Vienna, and at New York with unbounded applause."[52] This is one of the few plays of Kotzebue which won applause in America, especially in New York and Philadelphia, without coming with a guarantee of English approbation and success. Sellier has no reference to any performance in London or England. According to Wilkens there were, however, English and American publications.[53] The play *False Shame* is contained in vol. III of *The Dramatic Works of Baron Kotzebue,* published by Charles Smith, New York, 1801. This play was also published singly by Charles Smith in 1801, where Wilkens characterizes it as a reprint of a translation, appearing in London, 1799; he

[49] *Der Graf von Burgund, Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen,* 1797; Leipzig, 1798.

[50] W. Charles Smith, New York, 1800; Cf., also Wilkens, App. N. 50-51.

[51] Cf. Sellier, pp. 26-28.

[52] *Falsche Scham, Schauspiel in vier Aufzügen,* 1797.

[53] Cf. Wilkens, App. N. 51, 53, 74 and 91.

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also thinks the Charleston publication by A. P. Young, 1800, a reprint of the London publication.

The cast for the Philadelphia theatre was as follows: Baron Flaxland—Warren, Captain Erlach—Cooper, Wieland—Wood, Viscompte de Maillac—Bernard, Frelon—Blisset, John—Wignell, Baroness Flaxland—Mrs. Francis, Mme. Moreau—Mrs. Morris, Adeleide—Mrs. Snowden, Amalia (the American orphan)—Mrs. Merry. From the above cast we see that Cooper has the part of Captain Erlach, but during the winter of 1799 he played the part of Wieland to Hodgkinson's Erlach in New York. Under the caption 1799-1801 Wood says: "This season opened with an imperfect company. Cooper had returned to New York, leaving us without a tragedian, . . . to conceal our deficiency, Wignell determined on producing the greatest possible novelties, and from December to May was presented: *£500 a Year; Jew and Doctor; Horse and Widow*;*[54] *Constellation; Secret; Duplicity; Reconciliation*; Lie of the Day; Count of Burgundy*; Gustavus Vasa; He is Much to Blame; Zorinski; Positive Man; Castle Spectre; False Shame*; Laugh When You Can; Double Disguise; King John; Naval Pillar; Wild Goose Chase,* and Pizarro** occupied the remaining nights." Nothing could be more misleading in reference to the German plays than this statement of Wood, for, as can be seen from the above Philadelphia cast, C. Cooper played Erlach on April 14, 1800, and is registered in the leading roles of the two other German plays that follow, *in Wild Goose Chase* and *Pizarro,* and this condition continues through the next season. Rolla in *Pizarro* was one of his leading rôles. In fact, we are here touching on one of the most important explanations of the variety and number of German plays; namely, that leading actors, finding grateful rôles, make good use of them and take them wherever they go. The play *False Shame* is not so important in itself, but the cross references from Wood, Dunlap, and the facts as gathered from the daily journals, throw an interesting light on this matter. In New York it seems to have occupied a much more important place than in Philadelphia, for it is referred to by Dunlap in

[54] The German plays are marked*.

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these words: "This play, without scenery or decoration, by plain dialogue and natural character, supported the theatre this, the second season of the author's direction. As in the case of *The Stranger,* it ran through the whole winter. *The Force of Calumny, Fraternal Discord* from the same pen and other pieces did their part, but *False Shame* was the pillar on which we rested." And again, "*The Wild Goose Chase,* metamorphosed into Opera, continued a favorite as long as Hodgkinson continued to play the baron. The secession of Cooper was a severe blow to the theatre. However, Kotzebue, with the manager's [55] industry, kept up the business. *The Virgin of the Sun* was brought out with great expense with splendid scenery and dresses and was attractive through the season. *Pizarro* was composed from the original and Sheridan's alterations, the concluding scene by Sheridan was omitted and the sublime last lines of the author preferred. These two pieces with all their faults have great merit, and merited the thanks of the 'manager in distress.' Mr. Cooper envies Mr. Hodgkinson's success in the German plays. The necessity for producing these attractive novelties rendered *Hamlet* and *Macbeth,* and all the glories of the drama for a time a dead letter. Among the actors was discord and discontent, and even those plays which attracted the public and gave bread to some, and means of destructive indulgence to others, were stigmatized by the actors as *Dutch stuff.*" Both Dunlap and Wood seem to refer to Cooper leaving their respective cities the same season with the same results. On December 11, 1799, Cooper was still playing in New York, and on April 14, 1800, he was playing in Philadelphia, and is found in leading rôles of German plays throughout the season of 1800-1801 in Philadelphia. The secession from New York referred to by Dunlap, therefore, took place in April, 1800. The only way to reconcile the statements of Wood with these facts is to assume that Cooper had been with the Philadelphia company in the South in the winter of 1799, and had returned to New York before the beginning of the Philadelphia season, December 4th, and then came finally for a longer engagement in Philadelphia, 1799. A cor-

[55] Dunlap.

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respondent in the *United States Gazette,* under the date of April 4, 1800, refers to the coming of Cooper to Philadelphia in these words: "The Theatre of Philadelphia has lately received a valuable acquisition in the person of Mr. Cooper, a performer whose talents, although in their infancy, eclipse the most admired and veteran performers of the English drama. . .. . It is with great satisfaction that we have been informed of the happy selection he has made for his benefit, which will be on Saturday next, and the character of Hamlet, in which he stands unrivalled in this or any other country, is to be the subject for the display of his abilities. The known good taste of our audience will doubtless vindicate the insulted majesty of Shakespeare from the insolent usurpation of the German play mongers."

As a bit of irony we note that Cooper chose as the secondary play for his benefit night one of Kotzebue's plays, *The Wild Goose Chase,* in which he played the Baron, the rôle referred to above by Dunlap. In fact, Cooper had no doubt introduced this piece from New York, it being Dunlap's version, and throughout the remainder of this season Cooper appeared in rôles of the German plays, *The Stranger, The Wild Goose Chase, Reconciliation* and *Pizarro,* and in only one Shakespeare play; namely, *Macbeth* He no doubt found that whatever his ideals may have been or whatever purists thought, the road to success, for the time at least, lay in these versions of the foreign drama. Referring to Mr. Darley's return to the stage of Philadelphia and Miss Westray becoming Mrs. Darley, Dunlap continues: "With this accession of Mr. Cooper and with the great improvement of Mr. Wood, who now stood equal to any actor in the first line of genteel comedy, Mr. Wignell's company this season (referring to 1801) ranked higher than that of New York."

On April 16th, *Sighs; or, The Daughter,*[56] "never acted in America, written by Augustus von Kotzebue," was given. The translator is not mentioned. The cast for this first performance was as follows: Tillam Totum (with a song)—Bernard, Von Snarl—Warren, Hans William—Cooper, Adalbert—Wood, Leopold—Wignell, Nicholas—Blisset, Josephine—Mrs. Morry, Lou-

[56] *Armut und Edelsinn, Lustspiel in drei Aufzügen,* 1795.

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isa—Mrs. Snowden, Mrs. Rose—Mrs. Francis, Ellen (with a song)—Miss Broadhurst. This was the only performance this season and the play was, no doubt, Prince Hoare's version, prepared by him for the Haymarket Theatre, based on Maria Geissweiler's translation, *Poverty and Nobleness of Mind.*[57] Reprints of this English version had appeared in America this year, in New York by Charles Smith and S. Stephens, and in Boston by E. Larkin.[58]

On April 26th was given an afterpiece to Hamlet, referred to above, *"The Wild Goose Chase,* never performed here, from the German of Kotzebue. Reduced from the translation of Mr. Dunlap and performed at New York with unbounded applause."[59] The cast for this first performance was: Baron Willinghurst—Cooper, Felix—Wignell, Piffleberg—Bernard, Molknow—Warren, French Hairdresser—Blisset, Mme. de Baumbach—Mrs. Oldmixon, Nannette—Mrs. Snowden, Lisette—Mrs. Francis.

This is the second Kotzebue play not depending for its success on the London market. Its appearance this season is no doubt owing to Mr. Cooper. In New York it was given for the first time January 24, 1800, and repeated four times more the same season.[60] It was changed by Dunlap into a musical play, in those days styled Opera. It was repeated on April 30th. These two translations, Smith's *The Wild Youth* and Dunlap's *The Wild Goose Chase* were reviewed in the *Monthly Magazine* and *American Review,* II. 133, New York, and Dunlap's version was pronounced much the better of the two. Among other plays it is also mentioned in the *Theatrical Register* of the same magagine, III. 380, 455.[61]

But the play which proved to be one of the most popular and successful plays of Kotzebue origin was *Pizarro; or, the Spaniards in Peru,*[62] announced for May 12th, but postponed to May

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[57] Cf. Sellier, p. 57 and pp. 57-60, for a discussion of this play.
[58] Wilkens, App. N. 57 and 62.
[59] *Der Wildfang,* Leipzig, 1798.
[60] Cf. Wilkens, Note 1, p. 117
[61] Cf. Goodnight, p. 109.
[62] *Die Spanier in Peru, oder Rollas Tod,* 1796.

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14th. "First time in Philadelphia. Written by Kotzebue and adapted to the English stage by R. B. Sheridan. Music by Mr. Reinagle and Mr. R. Taylor. Processions by Mr. Francis. The most remarkable scenes are: Act I. A magnificent Pavillion and view of the Spanish camp. Act II. Temple of the Sun. Solemn procession to the Sacrifice with hymns and invocations before going to battle. View of Peruvian Camp. Song of Victory. Act III. A wild retreat among the rocks. Triumphant march. Procession of the Warriors and their Prisoner, Pizarro's hut. Act. IV. Spanish Outpost. Background wild and rocky with a torrent falling down from the precipice, over which a bridge is formed by a fell'd tree." It was given four times at the end of this season on successive play nights and the last night, May 19th, was Mr. Reinagle's benefit. We see that due credit is given for the music and processions, but Dunlap is not mentioned. It must have been his version, for we can scarcely believe that speeches, which plainly show that Sheridan meant Bonaparte for Pizarro and the French for the Spanish, would have been tolerated by theatregoers, a large part of whom at least were favorable to the French.[68]

For 1799 to 1800 Wilkens enumerates the publication of translations of the following German plays: *Self Immolation; or, the Sacrifice of Love,* Boston, reprint of the London version, 1799 (*Der Opfertod,* 1798); *The Stranger,* New York, 1799, reprint from London, 1798 (*Menschenhass und Reue,* 1798); *Pizarro,* Philadelphia, 1799, reprint of R. B. Sheridan, London, 1799 (*Die Spanier in Peru oder Rolla's Tod,* 1796); *Adelaide of Wulfingen,* New York, 1800, reprint of Benjamin Thompson's translation, London, 1798 (*Adelheid von Wulfingen,* 1799); *Count Benyowski; or, the Conspiracy of Kamtschatka,* reprint of Rev. W. Bender's translation, London, 1798 (*Graf Benyowski*); *The Count of Burgundy,* by Charles Smith, New York, 1800 (*Der Graf von Burgund,* 1798); *The East Indian,* New York, possibly a reprint of A. Thomson's translation, London, 1799 (first as *The Indians in England* in

[68] Cf. Sellier, p. 34, and for discussion of the Sheridan version, pp. 31-42.

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the *German Miscellany, Perth,* 1796) (*Der Indianer in England,* 1790);[64] *False Shame; or, the American Orphan in Germany,* Charleston, 1800, possibly a reprint of the London publication, 1799 (*Falsche Scham,* 1796); *The Force of Calumny,* New York, 1800, reprint of Anne Plumptre's translation, London, 1799 (*Die Verläumder,* 1796); *The Happy Family,* New York, 1801, a reprint of Benjamin Thomson's translation, London, 1799 (*Die Silberne Hochzeit,* 1799); *Ildegerte, Queen of Norway,* Philadelphia; *La Peyrouse,* by Charles Smith, New York, 1800 (*La Peyrouse,* Leipzig, 1798); *Sighs; or, the Daughter,* Charleston, 1800, reprint of Prince Hoare's translation, London, 1799 (*Armut und Edelsinn,* 1795); *The Widow and the Riding Horse,* New York, 1800, a reprint of Anne Plumptre's translation, London, 1799 (*Die Wittwe und das Reitpferd,* 1796).[65]

Besides these are listed Dunlap's version of *Pizarro,* New York, 1800; Dunlap's *Virgin of the Sun,* New York, 1800 (*Die Sonnenfungfrau,* Leipzig, 1791), and also a reprint of James Lawrence's translation of the same play, London, 1799. Dunlap's *The Wild Goose Chase,* New York, 1800 (*Der Wildfang,* Leipzig, 1798), and Smith's translation of the same play, New York, 1800. If we include for 1799 *Lovers' Vows* as one of Naphthali Judah's publications, these publications represent seventeen different Kotzebue plays, of which nine had so far been presented on the Philadelphia stage.[66] The only other German play published earlier was *The Robbers,* in 1793, unless we also include *The Necromancer; or, Harlequin Dr. Faustus,* Worcester, 1795, reprint of an English print.[67] There seems to have been no discussion of any of these plays in any Philadelphia publication. Goodnight mentions none, but from his list for 1800 we see that the *Monthly Magazine* and *American Review,* New York, reviews Charles Smith's and Anne Plumptre's translation of *The Count of Burgundy,* and likewise, as mentioned above, Dunlap's and Smith's translations of *The Wild Goose Chase.* A

[64] Played for the first time in Reval, 1798.

[65] Cf. *The Horse and the Widow,* Wilkens does not mention any publication of Dibdin's version.

[66] For the complete list cf. Wilkens, App. pp. 172-178.

[67] Cf. Wilkens, App. 25 and 26, p. 169.

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favorable review of Dunlap's *Pizarro* is also included with mention of presentation of *Fraternal Discord, Lovers' Vows,*[68] *Virgin of the Sun, Pizarro* and *The Wild Goose Chase* in the New York theatres.

Chalk's *Circulating Library,* 75 North Third Street, announced for January, 1800, the appearance of Matthison's *Letters on German Literature,* London, and among plays "*Pizarro* (with eight others from Kotzebue)."

The premieres for the season have already been referred to in the list from Wood given above. We only note *Gustavus Vasa; or, The Deliverer of His Country,* not the Kotzebue version, given first on February 22nd, was repeated on February 26th, "the President of the United States intending to honor the Theatre with his presence."

Of Shakespeare plays we note *Hamlet, Henry IV, King John, Macbeth, The Merchant of Venice, Romeo and Juliet,* one performance each.

Eighth Season. October 8, 1800-April 11, 1801.

The German plays for this season were: *Pizarro,* October 22nd, November 10th, 28th, December 22nd, February 9th; *The Horse and the Widow,* October 22nd, January 9th, 12th, 14th; *The Stranger,* October 21st, December 17th; *Sighs; or, the Daughter,* November 5th; *Reconciliation,* November 21st; *Wild Goose Chase,* December 24th, March 21st; *Peru Avenged; or, the Death of Pizarro,* March 2nd; *The Corsicans,* March 13th; *The Virgin of the Sun,* April 10th, 11th. There were nineteen performances in all of nine different plays, all from Kotzebue, and three were new to Philadelphia; namely, *The Corsicans, Peru Avenged* and *The Virgin of the Sun.* In three of the five performances of *Pizarro* it is certain that Cooper played Rolla, of the other two it can only be assumed. The first full cast for the play is given on November 10th and is as follows: Spaniards:

[68] In N. 13 of Goodnight's list, the German title *Geprüfte Liebe* is given for *Lovers' Vows.* It should be *Das Kind der Liebe. Geprüfte Liebe* is the title of a story in *Die jüngsten Kinder meiner Laune,* 1793-1797, and is found translated as *The Constant Lover; or, William and Jeanette, a tale.* Cf. Wilkens, N. 41 and 42.

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Pizarro—Warren, Alonzo—Cain, Alenagro—Prigmore, Davilla — Francis, Gonzola — Durang, Gomez — Blisset, Valverde — Wood, Las Casas—Wignell, Castilian Soldier—Bernard, Second Soldier — Milbourne. Peruvians: Ataliba — Wood, Rolla — Cooper, Orozumbo—Bernard, Orano—Hopkins, Old Blind Man —Morris, Boy—Master Harris, High Priest—Darley, Second Priest—Baily, Elvira—Mrs. Merry, Cora—Miss Westray.

The popularity and success of *Pizarro* are indicated by advance notices in the papers and the excuse that "on account of new pieces in preparation it will necessarily be laid aside for some considerable time," and yet it appeared three times more the same season.

With this season begin the notices and criticisms of Kotzebue's plays and the German drama in general in the *Portfolio,* Philadelphia.[69] The editor, Joseph Dennie ("Oliver Oldschool"), was an uncompromising enemy, not only of Kotzebue's dramas, but of the German drama in general, as will appear from later extracts. Yet, in reference to the performance of *Pizarro* on February 9th, the *Portfolio* "admires the taste and liberality of the managers, because they have treated the town with the popular tragedies of *Macbeth* and *Pizarro.*" The two are classed together and are spoken of as "these solemn and affecting dramas," but we note that *Pizarro* is chiefly admired for Sheridan's work in it, for it is referred to as "modified and beautified by Sheridan."[70] These two plays come on succeeding nights of performance, *Macbeth* on Friday and *Pizarro* on Monday, with Cooper in the leading rôle in each. On October 22nd, two German plays were given the same night, *Pizarro* and *The Horse and the Widow.* When the latter had been given four times, three times on successive nights, it was dismissed by the *Portfolio* with these words: "The plot is not worth examination, the concluding scene is defective. . . . It is not certain that the heroine supposes herself a widow at the time of second marriage. . . .

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[69] *Portfolio,* Philadelphia, Series 1, Vols. I-V., January, 1801, to December, 1805; Series 2, Vols. I-VI, January, 1806, to December, 1808; Series 3, Vols. I-XXXIV, January, 1809, to December, 1825.

[70] Cf. *Portfolio* I, 1801.

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The unblushing effrontery with which the author makes her encounter the unexpected appearance of her first husband is disgusting. . . . We wish to see it consigned to oblivion."[71] But this proved to be one of the unfulfilled wishes, for *The Horse and the Widow* continued for many years to be one of the best drawing pieces. It is spoken of by Wood as Kotzebue's "Merry farce" and included among the profitable plays of the season. It was not until the beginning of the next season that the *Portfolio* launched its tirades against *The Stranger,* and the two performances of this season seem to have passed unnoticed. *Sighs, Reconciliation* and *Wild Goose Chase* as an after piece attracted no particular attention, and no new announcements in regard to them appeared this season.

Peru Avenged; or, the Death of Pizarro, was given for the first time March 2, 1801, and has been included as a Kotzebue play, although it may be only a version indirectly based on his *Pizarro.* The cast is not given and the only announcement, which gives any clue, represents the play as "altered from *Azuma* by the author of *Grecian Daughter";* namely, Arthur Murphy. This was the only performance this season and it did not appear again as far as the recorded list shows. On March 13, 1801, was given for the first time in Philadelphia *"The Corsicans,* translated from the German of Augustus Von Kotzebue and performed at the New York Theatre with the greatest applause."[72] The cast is given: The Count—Warren, Francis—Wood, Walker—Cooper, Felix—Cain, Servants—Bailey and Durang, Natalia—Mrs. Dudley, Ottilie—Miss Westray, Rosina—Miss Arnold. It was not repeated this season and the *Portfolio* speaks of a "thin and inattentive house, from the fault of the audience or the author the drama of *The Corsicans* was very coldly received." Sellier does not mention this play among those performed on the English stage. It is one of the English versions brought out by Dunlap in New York, the first performance on April 21, 1800. Wilkens does not mention any American publication of it appearing before 1814, and then only as a reprint of a second London edition of

[71] I, 1801.

[72] *Die Corsen. Ein Schauspiel in vier Aufzügen,* Leipzig, 1791.

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1799.[73] The play which marks the close of the season and for which great preparations had been made was *The Virgin of the Sun,*[74] given on the last two nights of the season, April 10 and 11, 1801. It was announced as "a play being the first part of *The Spaniards in Peru.* Performed at the New York theatre." There is no reference to author or translator, and no cast appears this season, but we may safely assume that it was Dunlap's version, brought out by him in 1800 "at great expense with splendid scenery and dresses and attractive through the season." Wood does not refer to it particularly, but includes it among the plays which proved profitable. Dunlap's version, with notes marking the variations from the original, appeared in 1800, and Wilkens mentions a publication the same year by Charles Smith as possibly a reprint of James Lawrence's translation, London, 1799.[75] Sellier mentions two literal translations for 1799, the Lawrence version mentioned above and one by Anne Plumptre, and a third published in 1800 by B. Thompson and included in his *German Theatre,* with the title: *Rolla; or, the Virgin of the Sun.* But no performance of these versions on the English stage is noted by Sellier. The first version noted by him is Reynold's version, which was given in Covent Garden in January, 1812. It appeared in print the same year with the title *"The Virgin of the Sun,* an Operatic Drama. In three acts from Kotzebue."[76]

Premieres and other plays to be noted for this season were: *Buxom John; or, a Sailor 's the Lad,* called a Musical Bagatelle, founded on the old song introduced in Congreve's witty but licentious comedy, *Love for Love;* Addison's *Cato,* announced as "First time in Philadelphia"; G. Lewis' *The East Indian,* supposed to have been written by him at the age of sixteen; *Edwy and Elgiva,* a Historical play, written by a young gentleman of Philadelphia, founded on an event of the tenth century; *The Law of Lombardy,* tragedy, by Robert Jephson; Dibdin's comedy, *Liberal Opinions,* first time in America; G. Th. Morton's

[73] Cf. Wilkens, App. 157.
[74] *Die Sonnenjungfrau,* Leipzig, 1791.
[75] Cf. Wilkens, App. 64 and 65.
[76] Cf. Sellier, pp. 79-81.

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Speed the Plough; Votary of Wealth, comedy, by author of *Abroad and at Home.* Of plays of French origin we note *Follies of a Day; or, the Marriage of Figaro,* translated from the French of Beaumarchais, and *The Spanish Barber; or, the Fruitless Precaution,* produced now as a comedy with music (both of these became stock pieces, until superseded by the well-known, splendid operas); *The Point of Honour; or, School for Soldiers,* taken from the French by Charles Kemble, of the D. L. theatre. Shakespeare was represented by *Hamlet,* two performances; *Macbeth, Merry Wives of Windsor, Much Ado About Nothing, Othello,* one performance each; *Richard II,* two performances; *Romeo and Juliet,* one performance. During the summer of 1801 a combination of players, Placide, Robertson and others, with a detachment of the Philadelphia company, played at the Southwark from July fourth to October second. No German plays are recorded, nor any important plays during the twenty-three nights.

For 1801 Wilkens[77] gives the following publications: *Abbè de L'Epée; or, the Orphan,* New York, reprint of B. Thompson's translation; *Deaf and Dumb; or, the Orphan,* 1801; *False Shame,* New York, 1801, a reprint of London publication, 1799; *Fraternal Discord,* New York, 1801, apparently a reprint of C. Ludger's translation, London, 1799; *The Stranger,* Philadelphia, probably a reprint of an English translation; *The Writing Desk; or, Youth in Danger,* New York, 1801, probably a reprint of the London publication, 1799. Besides these plays we note the translations of a story from Kotzebue, *The Constant Lover; or, William & Jeannette,* New York, 1801, a reprint of the London publication already mentioned, 1799. We shall find this appearing later in dramatized form. There was also published in New York *Tales of Wonder,* written and collected by M. G. Lewis, a reprint of the London publication, 1800. It includes translations from Goethe and Bürger. M. G. Lewis is well represented in the repertoire of the Philadelphia theatres, and some of his plays are undoubtedly influenced by German plays, although the identity may not be definitely established.

[77] Cf. Wilkens, App. 72-75 and 77-79, for account of publications.

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Ninth Season. October 14, 1801, to April 15, 1802.

The German plays for this season were: *The Stranger,* December 18th; *Lovers' Vows,* December 23rd; *Deaf and Dumb; or, the Orphan Protected,* January 27th, 29th, February 12th, 24th, March 8th; *Virgin of the Sun,* February 1st and 15th; *Joanna of Montfaucon,* February 5th, 13th; *Pizarro,* March 10th, 13th; *Reconciliation,* April 3rd; *The Red Cross Knights,* July 9th. There were fifteen performances, all as leading pieces, nine different plays, eight from Kotzebue, one an adaptation from Schiller's *Robbers;* three were new to Philadelphia; namely, *Deaf and Dumb, Joanna of Montfaucon* and *Red Cross Knights.*

The Stranger had been announced for December 11th, but at the last moment the play for that date was changed to *Douglass.* "For the delight or the languor of Friday evening the German play of *The Stranger* had been announced, but was suffered to sleep."[78] In reference to the performance of December 18th, the *Portfolio* said: "On the German play we shall scarcely throw a glance, though it is but justice to mention, that, in getting it up, some judicious critic had lopped off many of the great limbs of Kotzebue's Prolixity and somewhat mitigated his ferocious features. . . . The editor cannot resist the temptation of publishing with applause the opinion of the celebrated Mrs. West on the subject of this popular play. . . . As a Stranger Philanthropy might exclaim, 'let us give it welcome,' but as he appears to the writer of this article an 'alien and an enemy,' it is determined to withhold comfort and assistance and to pass on to a new comedy." The new comedy referred to is *The Wedding in Wales,* December 21st, and even here the German plays do not escape a thrust: *"The Wedding in Wales* is too serious. . . . or we fear, misled by the lights of erring taste, the German meteors, from the gay walk of Farquhar and Congreve to the cypress shade of Cumberland and Kotzebue." This play was by

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[78] *Portfolio* I, pp. 405 and 412. The criticism by Mrs. West, an English lady, is found in *Letters addressed to a young man on his first entrance into life, and adapted to the peculiar Circumstances of the present Times.* In this there is an attack on the morality of the stanzas: "I have a silent sorrow here." These stanzas were also very humorously parodied in the Anti-Jacobin.

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Thomas Stock, Philadelphia, whom Dunlap speaks of as Doctor Stock, an English or Welsh gentleman, who altered for the stage some of Miss Plumptre's translations from Kotzebue. I cannot resist anticipating here by giving some lines from Byron (quoted later in the *Mirror of Taste,* 1810), to help bring Cumberland from his "cypress shade."

> Now to the Drama turn—oh motley sight!
> .....
> Awake, George Coleman! Cumberland awake!
> Ring the alarum bell, let Folly quake!
> Oh, Sheridan! if aught can move thy pen,
> Let comedy resume her throne again,
> Abjure the mummery of German schools,
> Leave new Pizarros to translating fools,
> Give, as thy last memorial of the age,
> One classic drama, and reform the stage."[79]

Of *Lovers' Vows,* December 23rd, the *Portfolio* said: "As we did not scarcely for a moment listen to the *Lovers' Vows,* by one Kotzebue, we shall not stop an instant to speak of this Jacobin, but hurry away to the comedy called *Life; or, a Trip to Margate.*" The announcement in the paper is without cast and simply: "the favorite Comedy." *The Virgin of the Sun* was given twice this season, February 1st and 15th, Wood playing Rolla and Mrs. Merry, Cora. From a remark in the *Portfolio* we may assume that Cooper had the rôle of Rolla on the occasion of the first performance the last season: "Mrs. Merry's Cora was performed in her usual style of excellence. . . . we only stop to applaud Mr. Wood's excellence in Rolla, notwithstanding the difficulty of the task in following Cooper in one of his most interesting characters."[80] We see that the personality of the actors helped to moderate to some extent the antipathy for the German plays and permit even an appreciation of their good qualities. This is still more emphasized in the appreciation of

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[79] *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers, a Satire,* 1809.
[80] *Portfolio* II, 42.

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Mr. Wood, of whom the *Portfolio* a little earlier had said: "Mr. Wood it is our pleasure and pride to praise. Educated on our boards, he is no exotic."[81] The first full announcement, with a partial cast, appears with the performance of March 23rd, of the next season, and as none is given with the first performance, it will be given here:

Act I. The stage represents a wild and woody country in the vicinity of the Temple of the Sun; on one side the cave of Rolla, on the other a rocky and towering hill. The outer wall surrounding the temple is seen at a distance through the trees with a breach that has been made by an earthquake. The cupola of the Temple appears rising above the trees. Time, evening. Act 3. A magnificent apartment in the house of the stars. Palace of the Sun. Act 5. The inside of the Temple of the Sun, displaying the magnificence of the Peruvian worship. The cast follows: Ataliba, King of Quito—Jones; High Priest of the Sun—Warren; Telasco—Green; Rolla—Wood; Don Alonzo de Molina—Cain; Juan Velasquez—Bernard; Cora—Miss Westray. A reference in the *Portfolio* to this play which should have been given with the two performances at the end of last season may also find a place here. Unexpectedly we find a different tone in the criticism. Was it due to another contributor, or did Mr. Dennie relent in spite of his assertion to the contrary? " . . . But neither a subscription, angrily withdrawn, nor the insolence of democratic dictation will urge a disciple of the Old School to temporize."[82] "This (*Virgin of the Sun*) is one of the numerous efforts of the fertile imagination of Kotzebue and is admirably translated by Miss Plumptre. One class of readers will discover in it all the beauties, and another all the defects of this author. It has been adapted for theatrical representation by the manager of the New York theatre; but, we think, that the alterations and omissions are seldom judicious. We felt and regretted the omission of many of those exquisite touches of nature and genius, which had deeply impressed us, in perusing it, and which would

[81] II, 18.
[82] II, 6.

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have added much to its interest. Still, however, it awakens the feelings of the spectator in no small degree. The performers acquitted themselves with much ability. . . . The uncommon beauty of the scenery has not been exceeded by any scenic representation either in the old or new world." This season *Pizarro* was given twice, but the announcements are meagre and the only reference is a compliment to Mr. Wood in the *Portfolio:* "As Rolla his success far exceeded the expectations of his admirers."[83] March 13th was Mrs. Merry's Benefit, and the audience are spoken of as highly fashionable and splendid.

The Reconciliation is disposed of thus: " . . . the arch Blisset invited the town to the *Reconciliation* and the *Poor Soldier.* The former was excellently performed."[84] This brings us to the consideration of the three new plays for this season. *Deaf and Dumb; or, the Orphan Protected,* Hist. Drama,[85] was played for the first time in Philadelphia, January 27th, 1802; was repeated the following night of performance, January 29th, February 12th, 24th, and March 8th, five times during the season

The *Portfolio* had already called attention to the play during the summer of 1801, by copying a reference from a London paper and giving its reason for so doing. It is of interest here, because it well illustrates the English, and, of course, the American point of view at that time. It appears under the caption *Dramatic,* Drury Lane, London, and is introduced by an explanation by the editor of the *Portfolio:* "We insert the following, from a late London paper, to amuse the lovers of the drama, and to announce at length *one* moral and useful play from the pen of Kotzebue." The article speaks of the first performance of the play at Drury Lane Theatre "to a crowded and brilliant audience, received with universal applause. . . . The piece is a free translation from the play of Kotzebue. . . . It is, however, the purest and most edifying of Kotzebue's dramas; and although the characters are not marked with traits of original genius, the subject possesses all the attraction which can be derived from

[83] II, 90.
[84] II, 108.
[85] *Der Taubstumme,* oder *Der Abbé de L'Epée. Aus dem Französischen von Bouilly, übersetzt* 1800.

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the combination of the new and the probable. Nothing of the kind was ever attempted before; and the audience, fatigued with hearing upon such occasions awkward imitations of what they had heard a thousand times, lent a favorable eye to this original exhibition. . . . Its moral, unlike that of most other German productions, is not only unexceptionable, but excellent. Those who see it performed will not only leave the theatre with their principles undebauched, but with a greater love for virtue and a deeper abhorrence of guilt." The cast is given, showing Kemble as the Abbé de l'Epée.[86] In reference to the performance in Philadelphia on January 27th, the *Portfolio* said: "A new play, possessed of much excellence, was represented for the first time on Wednesday. The author of *Deaf and Dumb* has constructed a drama, full of interesting incidents, which conducts a helpless orphan to the recovery of honours and estates, of which he had been criminally deprived by the artifices of a near but unnatural relation. This is effected by the active interference of the benevolent Abbé de L'Epée. It is said that the return of the Abbé Sicard, the present instructor of the deaf and dumb, was, in a great measure, owing to the interest excited in Paris, in the representation of this play. It was received by a Philadelphia audience with repeated and unusual shouts of well-merited applause." The play had been published in 1801 and appears as the first in the list from Wilkens cited above in connection with the season of 1800-1801. Dunlap's version does not seem to have been printed, and Wilkens thinks Dunlap used Kotzebue's adaptation of the French piece.[87]

The next new play for the season was *Joanna of Montfaucon,* a Romantic Drama,[88] first performance February 5th, and repeated February 13th. The cast is only partially given.

This was Cumberland's version, which had appeared in London for the first time January 16th, 1800, and in New York it

[86] This play is omitted by Sellier in his discussion of plays of Kotzebue performed on the English stage. Possibly he regarded it really as a French play.

[87] Cf. Wilkens, p. 119.

[88] *Johanna von Montfaucon. Ein romantisches Gemaelde aus dem XIV. Jahrhundert,* Leipzig, 1800.

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was brought out by Dunlap May 28th, 1800. It was considered a failure in London and met with sharp criticism, so that Kotzebue declared over his own signature in the London papers, that the parts objected to were additions by Cumberland. Boaden, in his *Life of Mrs. Jordan,* vol. II, p. 44, thinks Kotzebue was justified in this course, and speaks of Cumberland's version as C's perversion.[89] The *Portfolio* speaks of the play as a "translation or rather adaptation of a drama of Kotzebue by the celebrated Cumberland. His undertaking this task, therefore, is an evidence that this play is worthy the attention of a liberal audience. It was produced at Covent Garden Theatre with a view to attract some portion of the crowds, which the splendid spectacle of *Pizarro* invited to Drury Lane. It abounds, therefore, in beautiful scenery and stage effects."[90] It was a poor house and an explanation is offered for generally poor houses that parties on theatre nights interfere with numerous audiences. But Wood says is was an entire failure without giving any reasons.

Again, as in 1801, a detachment of the Philadelphia Company rented the Southwark Theatre for a summer season beginning, according to the announcement, with July 5, 1802, but only seven plays are found, and among them the *Red Cross Knights,* announced as a play in five acts, founded on that much admired German drama, *The Robbers,* of Schiller. We shall refer to this play again with next season, when it appears for the first time by the regular company in the Chestnut Street Theatre. Premieres other than the German plays to be noted are: *Adelmorn the Outlaw,* by Lewis; *Blind Girl; or, Receipt for Beauty,* first in America, credited to Mr. Th. Morton, called a Comic Opera, with Music, by Reinagle and Gillingham. The *Portfolio* refers to a performance of this play at Covent Garden Theatre, London, 1801, in a communication from there, and says: "There is in the whole drama little or nothing absolutely new, yet nothing that might deserve to be termed rather plagiarism than fair imitation."[91] Can this refer to Kotzebue's *Epigram* translated into

[89] Cf. Sellier, pp. 65-71.
[90] *Portfolio* II, 43.
[91] *Portfolio* I, 254.

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English as *The Blind Boy?* Sellier does not mention a performance of *Blind Boy* till 1808, and is not sure whether this was the Dunlap version, produced in New York March 30, 1803,[92] which Dunlap had begun to prepare in the winter of 1802. Other new plays were: *Il Bondocani; or, the Caliph Robber,* first time in America, from an Arabian Tale; *Folly as it Flies,* Com., by Reynolds; *Hercules and Omphale,* a Grand Heroic Pantomime, first time in America; *Obi; or, Three Fingered Jack,* a Pantomimic Drama; *The Poor Gentleman,* Com.; *Reparation; or, The Libertine Reclaimed,* Com. Plays depending on French plays were: *The Distressed Mother,* trag., based on Racine's *Andromache; The Widow of Malabar,* "imitated from M. Le Mierre's celebrated drama *La Veuve du Malabar,* which had a most uncommonly long run in Paris and which has now become in a translation a favorite tragedy of Germans, performing in London with great applause."[93] Some minor plays, pantomimes or ballets are announced with French titles, such as *La Fête des Vendanges* and *La Foret Noire.*

Shakespeare is represented by seven plays, *Hamlet,* two performances; *Cymbeline, Henry IV, Macbeth, Merchant of Venice, Merry Wives of Windsor, Romeo and Juliet,* one performance each. For 1802 Wilkens gives these Baltimore publications: *Lovers' Vows,* reprint of B. Thompson's translation, 1800; *The Stranger,* reprint of B. Thompson's translation; *Cabal and Love,* reprint of a London translation, 1795; *Fiesco; or, the Genoese Conspiracy,* reprint of a London translation, 1796; *The Robbers,* reprint of B. Thompson's translation, 1801; *Abaellino, the Great Bandit,* Dunlap's translation, New York, 1802.

It is not surprising that burlesque and parody of Kotzebue and the German plays should have gone hand in hand with the serious criticism. Coinciding nearly with the beginning of this season we find in the *Portfolio* "A burlesque, *The Benevolent Cut-Throat,* a Play in seven Acts. Translated from the original German Drama written by the celebrated Klotzboggenhagen, by Fabricious Pictor. [From the Meteors.] An ingenious produc-

[92] Cf. Sellier, p. 76.

[93] *Gazette of the U. S.,* March 22, 1802.

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tion recently produced at London." This is introduced by the severest criticism yet launched against Kotzebue or the German plays, in which Dennie, however, betrays to some extent the animus of all his criticism, for he includes politics as well as literature. We are the more disposed to give it complete, because we shall allow a vindication of Kotzebue to follow, published in the *Portfolio,* 1802: "Among other brilliant sarcasms upon the folly or the vice of jacobinical writers, the following, intended to expose the moral and literary deformities of Kotzebue, will obtain the attention both of the merry and the serious. Of the noxious tendency of the German drama little doubt is now entertained among the lovers of sense, and Shakespeare, and the advocates of Truth and Virtue. When we range over the waste of this German's writings, from the licentious *Stranger* to the dashing *Pizarro,* from Rolla to Cora, from his *Wild Goose* to his wanton women, we find little of the beautiful and still less of the true. To represent every poor man as virtuous and wise, to villify greatness, to calumniate clergymen and lawyers, to taint the imagination of youth, to 'loosen the rudder bands' of society, to invent wild scenes, and describe them in rumbling language, appear to be the cardinal objects of this jacobin playwright. Mrs. H. Moore, an authoress above all reproach, and whose taste is as pure as her virtue, has with no less indignation than justice, urged to oppose with the whole might of influence the eruption of these swarms of publications, now issuing from the banks of the Danube, which, like their ravaging predecessors of the darker ages, though with other arms, are overrunning civilized society! Those readers whose purer taste has been formed on the correct models of the old classic school, see with indignation and astonishment the Huns and the Vandals once more overpowering the Greeks and the Romans. They behold our minds with a retrograde, but with rapid motion, hurried back to the reign of chaos by terrific and unprincipled compositions, which unite the taste of the Goths with the morals of Bagshot. The Editor of the *Portfolio* opposes the influence of this paper against all who secede from the old standards of taste, morals and *politics.* Though great names, and fashionable example and factious num-

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bers may be against him, he will continue to gall the forces of jacobinism, to repress the fluctuations of the wild popular wave, to recall the vagrant taste of the public from specious but noxious novelties in literature to ancient good sense, to old principles, to established forms of fine writing, to legitimate thinkers as well as writers, to the works of such men as my lord Clarendon and Edm. Burke. He prefers the principles even of Lord Falkland rather than those of Mr. Thomas Paine, will read the Bible rather than the French Calendar, and Shakespeare much sooner than Kotzebue." [94]

Early the next year, in 1812, we find in the Port Folio II, 42, an answer to the severe criticism of Kotzebue, under the title *Kotzebue Vindicated:* "A writer in the department of your miscellany has, in one or two recent instances involved, in one general anathema, the writings of Kotzebue. This is so contrary to the usual urbanity of the criticisms which appear in the Port Folio, and, in my apprehension, so hostile to the interests of literature and taste, that I have determined to request your insertion of a brief vindication of the dramatic writings of that much-abused author.

In the censure that has passed upon him by some of the foreign literary journals I cannot help thinking that hostility to his supposed political opinions has had no small share. The intolerance, which is shown on both sides of the question, would be scarcely believed by any who are not conversant with those miscellanies. Amidst the storm of conflicting passions, taste and genius prefer their claims in vain. They are too often sacrificed, without remorse, at the shrine of political bigotry. The writings of Kotzebue have been treated by critics of one class with marked severity; and the decisions of prejudice on one side of the Atlantic have, I think, been too hastily echoed and adopted on the other. I am particularly concerned at witnessing their appearance in the Port Folio, for the editor is too well versed in that 'lofty and columnar work,' the Pursuits of Literature, not to remember that 'politics are transitory,' but that 'wit is eternal.'

[94] *Portfolio* I, 283.

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The objections to the writings of Kotzebue may, I believe, be referred to two heads. He has been accused, in the first place, of drawing his various characters from high life and conferring virtue to those in more humble state; and in the second of inculcating principles subversive of the foundations of morality. I shall consider these objections in order.

I can not think that the first is entitled to any great weight, even if it were founded in fact; but it has not even the merit of being true. Upon the same principles upon which Kotzebue is condemned it would be very easy to accuse every English dramatist, from Shakespeare downwards, of rank Jacobinism and the proof, I think, would be found equally easy. If Kotzebue means to draw the character of an oppressor he must assign it to that class of men to whom the institutions of society have given the power of oppressing; if he wish to sketch a seducer, he must seek for him among that class which is most amply endowed with the means of gratifying the passions and which would be disposed to regard as a degradation a matrimonial alliance with an inferior. The poet and the dramatist have, almost universally, represented the humble, or at least the middling classes of life, as most favorable to the growth of virtue. Philosophy might, perhaps, teach us that this opinion has been too hastily and too generally adopted; but, if it be erroneous, Kotzebue is not its founder.

But let us examine how far this opinion, even if it were just in the abstract, is founded in fact. With the exception of *The Happy Family,* and the *Force of Calumny,* my acquaintance with the writings of Kotzebue is confined to those dramas which have been exhibited on the Philadelphia stage. And where shall we find proofs of the justice of this accusation in *The Corsicans, The Count of Burgundy, Lovers' Vows, False Shame, The Stranger, The Virgin of the Son,* and *Pizarro?* Some have indeed gone so far as to censure Kotzebue for delineating Pizarro in such odious colours, and for representing the Peruvians in so amicable and the Spaniards in so detestable a light. But the author has not, in this instance, assumed any poetical license. The pen of the eloquent Robertson, and of their own country-

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man, Las Casas, has consigned the atrocities of the invaders to the execration of all posterity; and the brutal severity of their leader justly entitles him to the application of the keen effusion of the Roman satirist and designates him as a monster:

Nulla virtute redemptum
A vitiis. . . .

I might fill up every column in the Port Folio were I to enter into a minute examination of the story of these dramas in order to prove my assertion. But the task would be a tedious one, and I would rather leave it to the investigation of your readers and proceed, at once, to examine the justice of the censures which have been cast upon our author's writings as subversive of the principles of morality. I must confess that this charge appears to me equally unfounded with the other. I should be rather inclined to maintain that the dramatic writings of Kotzebue are remarkable for their moral tendency. The greater part of them, either directly or indirectly, recommend or enforce some moral principle. But is this absolutely necessary in the construction of a drama? If no play were to be represented, of which the moral was not apparent, what would become of many of those writings which are the delight and ornament of the English stage? Where should we find the moral of many of the dramas of the great master of the passions? Where should we find it in two-thirds of the brilliant and witty comedies of the eighteenth century? Many of them seem merely designed to exhibit a natural picture of human life and human character, and the moral appears to be entirely a secondary consideration.

The Stranger is, perhaps, more exceptionable than any other of Kotzebue's dramas; and the clamour against it has been particularly vehement and indignant. I am in doubt, however, whether the censure cast upon it be altogether just. Two female writers have attacked this play, with all the indignation which generally animates the bosom of the fair, against a fallen sister. Far be it from me to attempt to weaken in the smallest degree these obligations, which maintain female dignity and enforce female virtue, yet I am strongly inclined to doubt the purity and

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justice of that morality which would refuse our pity and forgiveness to one, whose fall was momentary, and who had attempted to repair her error by three years of solitary life and repentance. The only questionable part of this drama is avoided by an alteration in it, as it appears in the New Theatre in this city. Mrs. Haller is represented as having suddenly stopped before she had completed the measure of her guilt, and the feelings of the spectators sympathize the more readily in her restoration.

With the exception of this one play, I think, that I may defy the enemies of Kotzebue to point out any incidents which have an immoral tendency in the dramas that I have enumerated. On the other hand, it will be easy to produce from them specimens of the purest morality. I know not that there exists, upon the European stage, a finer or more instructive scene than that in *Lovers' Vows*, in which the pastor awakens the conscience of the seducer and stimulates him to repentance. *False Shame* abounds with the most excellent sentiments; and where shall we find more tender and soothing pictures of domestic life, that sacred scene which is favourable to the growth of our purest and most virtuous feelings, than in *The Corsicans* and *The Happy Family*.

Having attempted the defence of our author against those two accusations, I might proceed to vindicate his claim to the need of genius. But this is a needless task. The multitudes, who have been agitated and interested by the productions of his muse in Europe and in this country, and the vehement hostility with which he has been attacked, offer the most unequivocal testimony of its justice. I can only pity his insensibility, who does not trace the pencil of a master, in the delineation of the romantic Rolla (perhaps the most interesting dramatic character that was ever conceived); of the elder Pompiliana and the Countess Natobia in *The Corsicans;* of the young Henry and Elizabeth in the *Count of Burgundy;* of the injured husband in *The Force of Calumny;* and the artless Cora in the *Virgin of the Sun*. Where shall we find, except in our own Shakespeare, incidents and situations more strongly productive of dramatic effect, than the interview between the father and daughter in *The Corsicans,* the father and son in *Lovers' Vows,* the husband

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and wife in *The Stranger,* the generous heroism of Rolla in the *Virgin of the Sun,* and his rescue of the child in *Pizarro?* I could multiply instances still further, but I would avoid the tediousness of a catalogue. Kotzebue is a voluminous writer; he has, perhaps, written too hastily; perhaps too much; but, when the number and variety of his dramatic effects are recollected, it is, I think, no small praise to him that he has written so well."

Earlier still in the year 1801 appeared in the *Portfolio,* Letter No. 3 from an Ameican Resident Abroad on various topics of Foreign Literature, in which the writer speaks highly of Gellert, "the German fabulist," considers him second only to La Fontaine, and compares him to Addison. "With Lessing, and Gellert and Gessner and Wieland, I have indeed made myself tolerably familiar, and by frequenting the theatre I have seen most of the very fashionable dramas of Kotzebue, now the favorite playwright not only of Germany, but of England and France, from the former of which I perceive he has found his way to America."

It remains to call attention to the reference in the same *Portfolio* to two of Schiller's works to emphasize the fact that while his works were published and read in Philadelphia, few of his dramas were performed on the Philadelphia stage. *Wallenstein* is spoken of as "two very long and often tedious dramas, abounding in soliloquy and declamation,"[95] and later William Fry's publication of Render's *Mysterious Arminian* is announced "An imperfect and partial version, under the awkward title, most uncouthly compounded of *Ghost Seer* has been sufficiently popular. A young and sanguine printer has therefore some reason to hope, that a complete translation, in the correct style of a Cambridge teacher, will be read by those who love to tread the mazes of the German labyrinth, or who are delighted with the mysterious and the passing strange."[96] When the book was ready in October, 1801, this announcement appeared in the *Portfolio:* "All who relish Schiller's writings, or who are curious in their choice of versions, will purchase of Mr. Fry the best

[95] *Portfolio* I, 37.
[96] P. I, p. 254.

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novel from the pen of a German and the best translation by the learning and fidelity of Render."[97] Sotheby's translation of Wieland's *Oberon* was also announced as appearing in London, March, 1801, and much later we find a version of it dominating the season of 1826-1827 at the Walnut Street Theatre.

Tenth Season. December 13, 1802, to April 2, 1803.

The season began late, probably because of the company's season in Baltimore. The German plays for the season were: *Pizarro,* December 23rd; *Deaf and Dumb,* January 3rd; *Abaellino,* January 1st, 17th, 28th, March 14th; *Doctor and Apothecary,* March 4th, 12th; *Red Cross Knights,* March 18th, April 2nd; *Virgin of the Sun,* March 23rd. There were eleven performances of six different plays, three from Kotzebue; one, an adaptation from Schiller's *Robbers,* one from Zschokke's *Abaellino,* and one of unknown origin. Two were new to Philadelphia. *The Doctor and Apothecary* and *Abaellino,* unless we class *Red Cross Knights* here, as it was given this season for the first time by the regular company. The announcements are meagre and most of them, especially the older ones, are given without the mention of either author or translator. We note a gradual decline of the German plays and a revival of Shakespeare, due to the presence at various times of the imporant tragedians, Cooper, Fennel and Hodgkinson. In *Pizarro* Mrs. Merry played Elvira and Mrs. Green, Cora, and as no other part of the cast is given we can only assume that either Cooper or Green played Rolla, the former appearing a few days later in *Hamlet.* The play *Deaf and Dumb* is announced in the briefest form. The full announcement appearing this season with *Virgin of the Sun* has already been given with the last season, and there is nothing to be added. We next consider the new plays for this season. *Abaellino; or, the Great Bandit,*[98] was played for the first time in Philadelphia on January 12th, and repeated January 17th and 28th, and March 14th, four times during the season. The Monday performance

[97] P. I, p. 319.

[98] *Abaellino, der grosse Bandit. Ein Trauerspiel nach der Geschichte dieses Namens,* Frankfurt a. d. O., 1795.

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January 10th was omitted "on account of preparations for the popular play of *Abaellino, the Great Bandit.*" Only a partial cast is given this season: Abaellino and Flodoardo by Mr. Green, and Rosamunde by Mrs. Wignell (Mrs. Merry). Mr. Green chose the play for his Benefit on March 14th. No mention is made of author or translator. In fact, Dunlap himself, the translator, claims he did not know till years later who the author of *Abaellino* was, but, according to a copy, which Mr. Seilhamer showed me in his library in Chambersburg, Pa., was quite willing to print it as *"Abaellino,* translated from Schiller by William Dunlap."[99] Wilkens quotes Blake's *An Historical Account of the Providence Stage,* Providence, 1868, p. 62: "At Providence, R. I., *Abaellino* was announced in the bills as the best dramatic work of the best dramatic writer of the age, Schiller," and then adds: "It is impossible to tell whether the management really believed this. It is interesting to note that the extravagant character of the Abaellino was probably sufficient to make this announcement appear credible to the public." I am inclined to think that this was not the Providence manager's deliberate act, but that he was simply following the title page of Dunlap's translation.[100] Hoskins also refers to this, quoting Wilkens, and incidentally quotes from Dunlap direct and indirectly through Wilkens: "Never was a play more successful or a successful play less productive to its author or translator";[101] but omits the explanatory words: "It was overwhelmed by snow." This refers. no doubt, to the first night of performance in New York, February 11, 1801. It became a stock play in Philadelphia and is represented almost every season from now on, sometimes repeated several times during the same season. M. G. Lewis's translation, *Abaellino, the Bravo of Venice,* did not appear until 1805, and no reprint of it in America is referred to by either Wilkens or Hoskins. Wilkens, however, does mention for 1806

[99] For similar instances of ascribing works of unknown authors to well known ones; cf. Haney. German Literature in England before 1790. Americana Germanica, Vol. IV, p. 22.

[100] Cf. Brede, in *German American Annals,* 1805, p. 271.

[101] *Parke Godwin and Zschokke's Tales,* by John Preston Hoskins; *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America,* 1905, Vol. XX, N. 2, New Series, Vol XIII, N. 2, VI, p. 283.

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an American reprint of a London version, 1805, *Abellino, the Venetian Outlaw,* from a French translation.[102] Dunlap mentions, of course, in his book Zschokke as the author of the play, and adds: "His Abaellino has been translated into most of the languages of Europe and brought forward on most of the European stages under various disguises. It was first played in a language foreign to its author, in New York, and only played in America by its original title"; then follow the words already quoted above. He keeps track of it and refers to this first performance in Philadelphia. Wood says: "Mr. Green, one of the old company, who came in 1798, returned from a protracted tour in Virginia, and was kindly received, but excited no sensation, if we except the single character of Abaellino. . . . The improvement in support during the past year promised to continue and Wignell resumed his year's labor with renewed vigor. Chief among the novelties was *Abaellino, the Great Bandit,* a romantic drama of deep interest, from the Protean changes of the hero's appearance, transformations so perfect and so magically sudden, as to be without parallel, unless in Duff's *Three and Deuce,* or Mathew's ever changing exhibitions. This part was originally acted by Hodgkinson at New York, and proved one of the many attractions for a season. But though not performed as well with us, it satisfied an audience who had seen no other."[103] The popularity of this play is at least partly attributable to the charm which the successful rapid changes of character have upon an audience. No other reference was found to this play and the *Portfolio* does not seem to have noticed it. Goodinght cites a review of Dunlap's translation in the *American Review and Literary Journal,* of New York.[104] But Kotzebue and the German muse do not escape a thrust from the *Portfolio* in 1802, by saying: "A new writer thus justly describes the plays of Kotzebue: To paint the wild ebullitions of high wrought feeling, to represent passion as the grand sublimer of human nature, to throw beings of enthusiastic irritability into situations inconceivably agonizing are among the favorite objects of the German muse."

[102] Cf. Wilkens, App. 113, and also Hoskins, App., p. 298.
[103] Cf. Wood, pp. 87-88.
[104] Goodnight, p. 111.

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On March 4th, *The Doctor and Apothecary,* played for the first time, and repeated March 12th, is only tentatively classed as a German play. No author is given; I have not been able to trace it. The cast shows the following characters: Thomaso, Sturmwald, Carlos, Juan, Doctor Billioso, Perez, Anna, Isabella, Teresa. It is called Comic Opera and Musical Farce.

At the Chestnut *The Red Cross Knights* was given by the whole company March 18th, and repeated on April 2nd, with the following cast and description: Count de Ladesma—Green, Ferdinand—Cain, Roderic de Froila—Wood, Guzman—Jones, Lerida—Francis, Bertram—Usher, Spinola—Milbourne, Percy—Warren, Popoli—Blisset, Leonardo—Durang, Lanusa—Wheatley, Kipperda—Goodwin, Eugenia—Miss Westray. Act I. Triumphal entry of the Army of Alfonso, King of Castil, into Toledo after victory. Act 4. Grand Banquet in the castle of Ladesma, at which will be sung the original Glee of Red Cross Knights. Act 5. A Forrest by Moonlight in one part of the scene a ruined tower. Wood places this in 1804, but as shown, it was played at the Southwark in 1802 by a detachment of the company and others. Wood's comment is: "A feeble alteration by Holman (an English actor) of Schiller's play of *The Robbers,* under the title of *The Red Cross Knights,* was indifferently acted and coldly received."[105] M. G. Lewis is well represented this season by *Adelmorn the Outlaw, Castle Spectre, Mountaineers* and *King Alfonso of Castille. George Barnwell,* by Lillo, is announced as first time in Philadelphia, but had been given by this company in the season of 1794-1795. In fact, this season and the following one shows a revival of plays of that earlier season, such as *The Gamester,*[106] *Village Lawyer, School for Scandal,* Mr. Wood choosing the latter for his Benefit. No new plays of French origin are noted. Shakespeare is, however, well represented by eleven performances of the following: *Hamlet,*

[105] Wood, p. 105.

[106] For a discussion of this style of plays cf. G. Fritz, *Der Spieler im Deutschen Drama des achzehnten Jahrhunderts.* Diss. Berlin, reviewed in I. B. L. IV, 4, 1, where *The Gamester* is mentioned as an antecedent of Kotzebue's *Blinde Liebe,* 1806. Cf., also *Euphorion,* 1897, 4 indicating that Kotzebue was simply coming back to England with better style and dramatic action.

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Richard III, Macbeth, Merchant of Venice, Henry VIII, Othello, Henry IV, Second part, *Tempest,* announced as "by Shakespeare, added to by Dryden and compiled by J. P. Kemble." Wood's remarks about *Henry IV* are of interest: "The second part of Henry IV was got up for the first time in America, and Warren at once acquired the high reputation which he afterwards possessed as Falstaff. The play, however, never became a favorite, chiefly from the want of a prominent female character, an objection to lady audiences, who rarely do any of the Falstaff plays the favor of their patronage. The same cause prevents *The Revenge* and *The Robbers* from becoming, in the stage phrase, 'Women's plays.' And even in *Julius Caesar,* attractive as it is, the great disproportion of ladies to men in the audience is a subject of frequent remark."[107]

The only German play mentioned by Wilkens as published in 1803 was *Count Benyowsky,* which appears for the first time on the Philadelphia stage next season, where it will be discussed. Besides this play Wilkens[108] mentions Charles Smith's translations, published in New York, of two of Kotzebue's stories, which we may find later in dramatic form: *The Beautiful Unknown* (*Die schöne Unbekannte,* 1787) and *Zaida; or, the Dethronement of Muhamed IV* (*Zaide, oder die Entthronung Muhamed's IV,* historische Novelle, Leipzig, 1786). On January 25th, the Aurora Book Store announced the following new books: *The Ring; or, the Merry Wives of Madrid,* translated by B. Thompson, the translator of *The Stranger,* and also Schiller's *Thirty Years' War;* and by John Conrad & Co. was announced, about the same time, among new novels: *The Orphan of the Rhine.* No record of any summer season at the old Southwark was found, but the theatre seems to have been used for pantomimes, etc.

[107] Cf. Wood, p. 105.

[108] Cf. Wilkens, App. N. 98, 99, 100. Incidentally I note the following publication, which should be added to Wilkens' list for 1803. It is announced in the *Aurora,* January 10, 1803. "A valuable work. This Day is published at Duane's Book Store, No. 106 Market, in one volume Large Octavo, *Gymnastics for Youth. Or a Practical Guide to Healthful and Amusing Exercises. For the Use of Schools. An Essay towards the necessary improvement of education chiefly as it relates to the body. Freely translated from the German of C. G. Salzmann. Illustrated with ten elegant engravings.* Price 250 cents. William Duane, successor to Benjamin Franklin Bache in Franklin Court, Market Street, Philadelphia."

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Eleventh Season at the Chestnut Street Theatre, December 12, 1803, to April 3, 1804.

This season began late also. The German plays for this season were: *Pizarro,* January 1st; *Virgin of the Sun, Doctor and Apothecary,* February 6th; *Maid of Bristol,* February 13th and 17th; *The Stranger,* March 2nd, and *Count Benyowski; or, the Conspiracy of Kamtschatka,* March 23rd. There were seven performances of six different German plays; four from Kotzebue and two of unknown origin. Two were new to Philadelphia, *Maid of Bristol* and *Count Benyowski.* The decline of the German plays continues and the season is dominated by robber, outlaw and horror plays and the melodrama; this is shown by such plays as *Adelmore the Outlaw, Castle Spectre, Bridal Spectre, A Tale of Terror* and *Tale of Mystery.* Nothing new appears in regard to *Pizarro,* January 16th, which is simply announced as the "Celebrated Tragedy," nor of *Virgin of the Sun,* January 27th, announced as a "favorite play." On March 2nd, Wood was to have played Alfonso, but on account of the illness of Wood *The Stranger* was substituted, Cain playing *The Stranger. The Maid of Bristol* was given for the first time in Philadelphia February 13th, and repeated February 17th. It is attributed to James Boaden and as coming from Haymarket Theatre, London. No German author is mentioned, nor is it announced as a translation or adaptation, and for the present there is no tangible proof that it is of German origin. The cast was as follows: Baron Lindorf—Cain, Gellert—Downie, Schultzer — Wood, Capt. Oakum — Warren, Ben Block — Jefferson, Shark—Francis, Doctor Cranium—Twaits, Clod—Blisset, Creditors—Durany, Messenger, etc., Soldiers—
Stella—Mrs. Wignell, Mrs. Oakum—Mrs. Shaw, Mrs. Shark—Mrs. Francis, Fanny Oakum—Mrs. Snowden, Susan Clod—Miss Hurst.

One of M. G. Lewis's plays, *Adelmorn the Outlaw,* first played in 1801, and referred to last season, may also be an adaptation from some German play. Its cast is given this season and is attributed to Lewis without any reference to being a transla-

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tion or adaptation. The cast is as follows: Sigismund, Duke of Saxony—Warren; Ulric, Count of Bergen—Wood; Adelmorn Baron of Bergen—Cain; Father Cyprian—Downie; Hugo—Blisset; Lodowick—Jefferson; Imogen, Princess of Saxony—Mrs. Wignell.

Mrs. Wood chose for her Benefit, March 23rd, a new play, *Count Benyowski; or, the Conspiracy of Kamtschatka.*[109] The cast is incomplete: Count Benyowski—Wood, Governour of Bocheresk—Downie, Hettman of the Cossacks—Jefferson, Kudrin (with a song)—Fox, Exiles, Conspirators, Ordonanz—, Athanasia—, Theodora— No mention is made of either author or translator. The translation of Render, of the University of Cambridge, had appeared in print in London in 1798. Wilkens[110] mentions two reprints of Render's translation in America, the first in Boston, 1800, and the second in Baltimore, 1803, and also another publication in New York, 1799, about which neither he nor Sellier is willing to make any definite statement, the latter referring to it as possibly based on the same Render translation. According to Sellier, it did not appear on the London stage until the season of 1811-1812, at the Covent Garden Theatre, first performance October 16th, under the title *Kamtschatka; or, the Slaves' Tribute.* This was a version by Charles Kemble and he had changed it into an operatic play, and in this connection it may be of interest to note a French adaptation by Rabany, appearing in Paris in 1800 as a Comic Opera in 3 Acts by Alexander Duval. A second English version appeared in D. L. Theatre much later, March 16th, 1826, with the title *Benyowski; or, the Exiles of Kamtschatka,* which Sellier was, however, unable to trace, but mentions twelve performances for that season, the last two with *Oberon.* B. Thompson also published a translation in his *German Theatre* in 1800,[111] but this does not seem to have been republished in America. Dunlap includes *Benyowski* in his list of plays and refers to the great

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[109] *Graf Benjowski, oder die Verschwörung auf Kamtschatka, Schauspiel in fünf Akten.* Leipzig, 1795.

[110] Cf. Wilkens, App. N. 42, 49, 99.

[111] Cf. Sellier, pp. 78-79, for the discussion of this play.

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success of *The Stranger, Lovers' Vows* and *Count Benyowski* in 1799. His version appeared for the first time on the stage in New York, April 1, 1799, and "the Boston theatre opened under the direction of Mr. Barrett, who, by agreement, was to get up *Count Benyowski, The Italian Father* and other plays written or translated by W. Dunlap."[112] Though Dunlap refers several times to the Philadelphia theatre through this period, he does not refer to his version of *Benyowski,* being played in Philadelphia. Wood had been abroad, and on his return the company was strengthened by recruits from England, the orchestra was perfected, members of it being carefully selected from the great theatres abroad, and Wood continues: "Jefferson[113] (who had come from New York) appeared as Don Miguel at Baltimore and Philadelphia, . . . Twait's success as Mr. Panglass was no less decisive, but the popularity of Kotzebue's plays induced the managers to bestow much labor and expense on the production of *Count Benyowski; or, the Conspiracy of Kamtschatka,* a drama of intense interest, connected with some romantic passages in the life of the ill-fated author. It was made a principal feature of the season. Recalling a scene in this play, in connection with the interest which the new State of California has since excited in the world, I may be permitted to hope that this alluring country may not prove as unfortunate to some of our adventurous people as did once an allusion to it to poor Kotzebue. The general reader must recollect that many years ago Russia, then under the government of the mad Emperor Paul, was suspected of some aggressive designs upon the region which has since become ours. A scene is accordingly introduced into this play in which the commander of the Cossacks, a drunken, visionary fellow, while in his cups, proposes to the Count the following plan, to settle a colony upon the Aleutian Islands: 'You,' he says, 'shall assist me in bringing this scheme to perfection. You shall persuade the Governor to propose it to the Empress—I

[112] Cf. Dunlap, p. 272.

[113] The first season of Mr. Jefferson in Philadelphia. He remained there till 1832 and died at Harrisburg, Pa., in 1858. Cf., also Dunlap's complimentary reference to Jefferson and the Philadelphia company, already quoted page 4.

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will make you all free and happy. The Governor shall be promoted from this place to Ochatz, you made Governor of Kamtschatka, I Regent of the Aleutian Islands, and before you are aware of it, Conqueror of California." For this neat piece of characteristic waggery, poor Kotzebue was seized at midnight, by orders of the Emperor, and hurried off to Siberia, from which place he was recalled only, as has been since supposed, through the influence of some powerful Germans at Petersburg. Kotzebue, in some of his writings, alludes delicately to this affair. It is interesting, but just to the Emperor to add, that on his return his fright was rewarded by several lucrative appointments, a matter which, at one time, seemed good fortune, but which proved in the end the cause of his untimely death. The wanderings and exploits of the Count Benyowski, the hero of Kotzebue's play, are recorded by himself, and are probably familiar to many readers. They may not, however, be aware of the fact which I learned myself only by accident, that this city was for some time the place of his residence and that of his second wife. On the morning succeeding the first production of the play, meeting Mr. Charles Biddle, one of the principal proprietors of our theatre, he stopped me to congratulate me upon the scenery and performance, remarking that the Count was an acquaintance of his and resided at the house in Chestnut Street, adjoining his residence (the building in Chestnut Street below Fifth, lately torn down, and long occupied as the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank). He was as remarkable in manner as in character, full of life and daring. His wife (not the Athanasia of the play) was a lady of beauty and accomplishments, not the least of which was a proficiency on the harp. The performance of the play deserved some of Mr. Biddle's eulogy, for it was acted with much ability and care, and I am happy to add that it well repaid the labor which it cost."[114] Among the other plays we note *Barbarossa; or, the Tyrant of Algiers,* Tragedy, March 21st; *The Hero of the North,* founded on the life of *Gustavus Vasa; The Swedish Hero,* written by M. Dimond, Jr., Hist. Play, interspersed with songs, April 2nd and 3rd. The *Gustavus Vasa,* by Burke, pub-

[114] Cf. Wood, pp. 102-103.

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lished in 1738, but not performed in London before 1805, appeared at the Southwark Theatre, 1790, and at the Chestnut Street Theatre in 1799.[115] The Kotzebue version was brought out by Dunlap in New York, February 22, 1810. We note further *Mahomed the Impostor,* Trag.; *Tale of Mystery,* Melodrama in 3 Acts, by Thomas Holcraft, Original Music by Dr. Busby, January 20th. This is referred to as the first distinct Melodrama appearing on the American stage, and according to Dunlap received with pleasure amounting to delight (Wood, who saw it as an afterpiece on his first visit to a London theatre, speaks of it in the same terms); *Bridal Spectre; or, Knights of Cala Rava,* founded on a popular tale of *Alonzo and Imogen Pantomical* Romance, by Thomas Dibdin, December 27th; *Black Beard,* April 2nd, an elaborate pantomime, forerunner of the later spectacles and extravaganzas. Another elaborate spectacle of this season was *Raymond and Agnes; or, the Bleeding Nun,* partly taken from Lewis's novel, *The Monk,* March 19th. The following show French origin: *Paul and Virginia,* founded on the celebrated tale of that name, translated from the French of Bernardin St. Pierre by Helen Maria Williams, Opera, 2 Acts, March 30th; *Tale of Terror,* Dr. Rom., partly founded on Molière's play, *The Feast of the Statue,* by Henry Siddons, December 21st; *The Voice of Nature,* Drama, in 3 Acts, by James Boaden, January 13th. Dunlap says that *Le Jugement de Salomon* came into his hands December 17, 1802, and by December 22nd he had translated it and adapted it to his theatre. The first performance took place in 1803. Another reference to this play shows an interesting side light on the vogue of foreign plays. Dunlap says *The Judgment of Salomon* was received with great applause, and subsequent success was without doubt owing to the author's adopting the same title for the piece as that by which it was played in London ("The Voice of Nature") and calling the characters by the same names. It was supposed to be foreign and was admired accordingly. Such were the prejudices which the premieres of American literature had to encounter. When the *Italian Father,*

[115] For the *Gustavus Vasa,* by Brooke, 1738; cf. p. 47.

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which was highly extolled when supposed to be a German play, was revived and known to be American, it was coldly received; and we shall have to record a similar instance in respect to Mr. Barker's play of *Marmion,* for the same spirit prevailed in Philadelphia.[116] *The Italian Father* referred to, appeared on the stage of New York, April 15, 1799, and was supposed to be one of Kotzebue's plays and "extolled by many as the best of the great German's dramatic productions, and Dunlap explains that "nothing can be more unlike the style of German plays than the style of this play. The Manager-author had adopted the German mode of concluding the last act, and this tended to confirm the preconceived opinion that it was a continuation of his labours in the German mine."[117] Dunlap had up to this time brought out in New York several German plays which had not yet appeared on the Philadelphia stage, such as *Where is He?,* a Farce, December 4, 1801; Schiller's *Fiesco,* March 26, 1801, and from Kotzebue *The Force of Calumny,* 1801-1802; *Peter the Great,* November 15, 1802, and the *Blind Boy,* March 23, 1803.

Shakespeare was represented by *Merry Wives of Windsor, Much Ado About Nothing, Richard III, Romeo and Juliet,* four plays, one performance each.

No direct references appear in the magazines of Philadelphia. *The Literary Magazine and American Register,* Philadelphia, has an account of Iffland, the German dramatist and actor, which, however, contains nothing bearing directly on our subject. An indirect reference to Schiller's *Robbers* is found in the same magazine, in an *Account of Schinderhannes, the Robber.* A highwayman of the Rhine, captured 1802, whose conduct was modelled on that of Carl Moor in Schiller's famous play, *The Robbers.*'[118] No other publications are noted by Wilkens for 1803 or 1804, and we only note that Thomas Holcroft's translations begin to appear, and whether any of his plays are translations or adaptations or not, it might be interesting to note his indebtedness to German authors.

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[116] Cf. Dunlap, p. 298.
[117] Cf. Dunlap, p. 295.
[118] Cf. Goodnight, p. 113, N. 63 and 69.

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A summer season at the Southwark, from June 20th to July 18th, shows nineteen plays, but no plays of German origin are shown, and the only plays to note as given first in Philadelphia, are *Liberty in Louisiana,* by James Workman, performed first in Charleston, and *Hearts of Oak.* Dunlap, in New York, was bankrupt and forced to close the theatre February 22, 1804, and adds, speaking of himself, and "the management of the man who had sacrificed his health and property in the pursuit of that which eluded his grasp, ceased." There is an especial interest attaching to the Philadelphia theatre of this period; *i. e.,* of the Chestnut Street Theatre, that its policy was directed by the same or at least similar management for so long a period.

Twelfth Season at the Chestnut Street Theatre—New Theatre. December 3, 1804, to April 3, 1805.

The German plays for the season were: *La Perouse; or, the Desolate Island,* December 26th, repeated December 27th, January 1st, February 18th and March 4th; *Abaellino,* January 12th; *Virgin of the Sun,* January 23rd; *Pizarro,* January 25th; *Count Benyowski,* announced for March 2nd; *Reconciliation,* March 16th; and *The Stranger,* March 30th. There were ten actual performances of six different plays, five from Kotzebue, not counting *Count Benyowski;* one from Zschokke. One play only, *La Perouse,* was new to Philadelphia.

The complete cast of *Abaellino,* January 12th, is given this season, showing Cooper in the leading rôle: Andreas Grelli—Warren, Dandoli — McKenzie, Canari — Usher, Flodoardo — Cooper, Cardinal Grimaldi—Taylor, Parozzi—Wood, Falieri—Francis, Contarino—Twaits, Memmo—Blisset, Matheo—Hardinge, Abaellino—Cooper, Senators—Taylor and Seymour, Banditti—Durang and McKenny, Iduela—Mrs. Shaw, Rosemunda—Mrs. Wignell.

Both the *Virgin of the Sun* and *Pizarro* are announced with full details of scenes, showing that part of their popularity was due to the elaborate stage setting and the mass scenes, processions and marches. They follow each other on succeeding nights, February 23rd and 25th, and most likely Cooper had the leading

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rôle, as his engagement is announced to begin on December 19th and run for eleven nights.[119]

For March 2nd, *Count Benyowski* was announced, but it was postponed on account of Wood's illness, and no further reference to it is found this season. We pass over *Reconciliation* and *The Stranger,* except to note that the former was chosen as a Benefit by Mr. Twait. The only new play to be noted this season is *La Perouse; or, the Desolate Island,*[120] first performance December 26th, and played five times during the season. It was played here as a Grand Pantomimical Drama, Original Music by Moorhead and Dary, arranged by Reinagle.

Wilkens mentions one publication in America, a translation by Charles Smith, New York, 1801.[121] Dunlap had a poor opinion of Smith's translations, for in listing plays by American authors he credits Charles Smith with "several bad translations from Kotzebue." Sellier mentions two English translations, Anne Plumptre's, in 1799, and Benj. Thompson's, 1799, printed again in his *German Theatre,* in 1800, and considers Thompson's relatively the best. The first play acted under this name was published with the title, *Perouse; or, the Desolate Island,* Pantom. Drama, by J. Fawcet. Acted with great success at Covent Garden, Songs, etc., 1801. It was performed the first time in London, February 28, 1801, as an after piece, which place it also held in America. There was a revival of a piece by that name as a "revived ballet" in 1838, but Sellier is in doubt whether this was a revival of the Fawcet version or based on Kotzebue's second version, Leipzig, 1813.[122] The situation presented in the play is the man and two women, one his legal wife, and the solution of the first version is that both women act unselfishly

[119] From Dunlap we learn that Cooper had returned to America and divided his time between New York and Philadelphia, for he is twelve nights in New York in eight Shakespeare plays, two German plays, *Lovers' Vows* and *Pizzaro,* and in *Jane Shore* and *Wheel of Fortune.* Dunlap gives the receipts of these twelve nights, ranging from $440 in *Romeo and Juliet* to $1080 in *Hamlet. Lovers' Vows* $532, and *Pizarro* $770. Again all seemed to depend on Cooper, for "from the departure of Cooper the theatre sank irretrievably."

[120] *La Perouse, Schauspiel in zwei Aufzügen,* Leipzig, 1798.

[121] Cf. Wilkens, App. 58.

[122] *La Perouse, Ein Schauspiel (gänslich umgearbeitet),* Leipzig, 1818.

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and henceforth give to the man only a sister's love; in the second version, that of 1913, following the example of the second version of Goethe's *Stella,* the second woman in this case, Malwina, the Polynesian, takes her own life. The Fawcet version represents an almost remaking, or, rather, unmaking of the play to meet English taste, and Sellier is quite right in exclaiming: "What a reflection on the taste of the English public for the *Biographica Dramatica* to say: 'Fawcet, who has judiciously adapted the story to the taste of an English audience, has so varied the incidents as in a great measure to preserve the probability which should exist in the scene, and which in the German drama is not infrequently violated.' " Fawcet brings in the chimpanzee as a *deus ex machina.* La Perouse, saved after the shipwreck, saves the life of a chimpanzee, who, in turn, protects him against the attacks of the natives of a neighboring island. Umba, a young widow, falls in love with the sailor, but he remains true to his wife. The latter comes to the island and is well received by La Perouse. Umba grows jealous and betrays him to her people. He is already at the stake ready to be burned, when at the last moment he is torn from the flames by the chimpanzee. It is doubtful whether at this time the American public realized that it was a version of a German play, for with the names of the composers given, there is no doubt that the Philadelphia play was the Fawcet version, probably with some minor changes.[128]

[128] Cf. Sellier, pp. 73-76, to whom I am also indebted for the plot of the Fawcet version.

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A "correspondent" sends to the *Portfolio* what he claims to be a copy of a manuscript of a friend, written some time before, signed "Venoni." In Original Papers for the *Portfolio,* The *American Lounger,* by Samuel Saunter, Esq., the letter is introduced as follows: "The following letter is in open hostility to my sentiments, but I publish it not to show an *impartiality,* which I do not even affect, but merely to demonstrate that ingenuity may cause paradoxes to appear plausible, and that marshaled troops may contend on the side of Error and Evil." The "correspondent" had appealed to the impartiality of the editor of the *American Lounger* to publish his friend's vindication of the German Muse. It is in part as follows: "Having lately returned, after a long absence, to my native country . . . I observed a severe and indiscriminate censure of *German Literature. Goethe, Wieland* and *Schiller* were, probably, included in the Philippic, but *Kotzebue* is the ostensible victim, offered for immolation on the altar of Prejudice. I do not offer a formal vindication of the plays of *Kotzebue.* . . . Neither would I attempt to excuse the immorality too prevalent in many of them. Grateful to the author of *Pizarro* I am anxious to contribute my mite toward rescuing from unwarrantable censure a play which, for energy of design, and spirit of execution has seldom been surpassed." After a lengthy discussion of the play he continues: "It would afford me sincere pleasure as a friend of Kotzebue and of candour, if some one with ability competent for the task would present us with a *critical dissertation* on *German* writings. But when accusation passes for proof, acrimony for justice, we shall in vain endeavor to form a correct judgment or an unbiased opinion. The plays of Kotzebue have been received with approbation; acted and reacted with applause, *Pizarro* in particular must be a favorite with every man attached to just delineation, nobleness of sentiment, or elevation of character. The approbation of the majority has been considered, on the whole, the best criterion by which to estimate the merits or demerits of a production. If this opinion be correct, may we not hope, that the

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plays of Kotzebue will yet survive, notwithstanding the unqualified invective of Gifford and the whining vehemence of an editor."[124]

Other plays to note for this season are *Gamester, Tragedy,* December 14th; *Castle Spectre* January 7th; Holcroft's *Tale of Mystery* January 30th and February 6th; *George Barnwell,* Tragedy, February 2nd; *School for Scandal,* February 25th; *Mysteries of the Castle,* Play interspersed with songs, founded on Miss Radcliffe's novel of the *Mysteries of Udolpho,* by Miles Peter, March 25th; *Alfonso King of Castille,* April 1st. Plays of French origin are represented by *Wife of Two Husbands,* musical drama from *La Femme de Deux Maris,* melodrama by M. Guilbert Pixérécourt, frequently given in Paris, adapted to the English stage by J. Cobb, March 1st; *Castle of Sorrento,* founded on French opera *Le Prisionier ou la Ressemblance,* altered from the French and adapted to the English stage by Henry Heartevert with original music, musical drama, March 9th; *Love Laughs at Locksmiths,* translated from the French *Une Folie,* March 16th; *Widow of Malabar,* March 22nd; *Point of Honour* or *School for Soldiers,* March 23rd; *Paul and Virginia,* March 30th.

Shakespeare is represented by *Hamlet, Richard III, Othello, Macbeth, Romeo and Juliet, Much Ado About Nothing, Henry IV, King Lear* and *Merry Wives of Windsor,* nine plays and as many performances.

Under the heading "Literary Selections" for the *United States Gazette* we find this criticism of one of Kotzebue's publications: "Augustus von Kotzebue has lately published another sentimental book, which he calls 'Travels from Berlin through Switzerland to Paris in the year 1804.' This production, like all his others abounds with impertinent nonsense, shocking blasphemies, and a ridiculous affectation of sentiment; it, however, contains some curious information which is both interesting and

[124] P. F., p. 80.

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instructive. Among other things he gives some singular illustrations of the systematic attention bestowed in France on the support and improvement of the stage. . . . The example taken by Kotzebue is striking. The translator of *the Stranger,* or as he calls it Misanthropy and Repentance, whom he charges with having performed his task rather in an awkward manner has already cleared 60,000 livres or about 2500 pounds by it and the piece is still a stock play, being frequently performed three times in one evening in Paris. The author got only 200 rix dollars for it or about 40 pounds."[125]

For 1805 Wilkens gives one New York publication: *Wallenstein,* The Piccolomini, a reprint of the London edition of Coleridge's translation.[126]

Thirteenth Season at Chestnut Street Theatre, December 2, 1805, to April 9, 1806.

The German plays for the season were: *La Perouse,* December 18th and January 24th; *Pizarro,* February 28th and March 31st; *Abaellino,* March 7th; *Virgin of the Sun,* March 14th; *The Robbers,* July 9th, during the short summer season. This shows seven performances in all of five different plays, three from Kotzebue, one from Schiller and one from Zschokke. There was no new play. The performance of *La Perouse* is referred to in the *Theatrical Censor.*[127] "The pantomime of *La Peyrouse,* so named from the unfortunate French navigator, who is supposed to have been lost at sea, drew a crowded audience. The deviation of this from the true history of La Perouse is very censurable. It might as well be called anything else, being little more than Robinson Crusoe in new dress. . . ." The balance of the criticism is taken up with personal references to the actors.

Both Wood and Cooper selected *Pizarro* for their benefit

[125] *U. S. Gazette,* May 18, 1805.

[126] Cf. Wilkens, App. 110.

[127] *The Theatrical Censor.* N. 1, by an American; N. 2 et seq., "by a Citizen," 1805.

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night, and of Wood the *Theatrical Censor* says: "In Rolla he surpassed the expectation of his friends." [128] Mrs. Wood chose *Abaellino* for her benefit night. It is announced as the favorite play, with favorite Glee from *Red Cross Knights.*" Another of the company chose a German play for his benefit, namely Holland in *Virgin of the Sun.*

A short summer season in 1806 closed on July 9, 1806, with *The Robbers.* The full cast is given, Wood playing for the first time "Charles de Moor," and Mrs. Wood, "Amelia." All the characters are given except Kozinski, which omission is explained in connection with the season of 1798-1799. The company also played in Baltimore, Alexandria and other places in the South, and so Wood may have played this part before. I have not looked up the seasons outside of Philadelphia. At all events it is Wood's first performance of the part in Philadelphia.[129] In February, 1806, the *Portfolio* published an Ode to the German Drama with an introduction by the editor: "In the following exquisite parody the sentiments are not less admirable than the talents of the author. We have often expressed our contempt for *German* plays, but we are happy to fortify our opinion of the Teutonic muse, with the wit of a man of genius, a polite scholar.

Ode to the German Drama, by Mr. Seward; A Parody of Gray's Ode to Adversity.

Daughter of night, chaotic Queen!
Thou thoughtful source of modern lays,
Where turbid plot, and tedious scene,
The *monarch* spurn, the *robber* raise.
Bound in thy necromantic spell
The audience taste the joys of hell,
And Britain's sons indignant grown
With pangs unfelt before, at crimes before unknown.

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[128] *The Theatrical Censor,* p. 130.

[129] Cf. Sixth Season, 1798-1799, and cf., also *Schiller on the Philadelphia Stage.*

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When first, to make the nations stare,
Folly her painted mask display'd,
Schiller, sublimely mad was there,
And Kotz'bue lent his leaden aid.
Gigantic pair! their lofty soul
Disdaining reason's weak control,
On changeful Britain sped the blow,
Who thoughtless of her own, embraced fictitious woe.

Aw'd by the scowl tremendous, fly
Fair Comedy's theatric brood,
Light satire, wit and harmless joy,
And leave us dungeons, chains and blood.
Swift they disperse, and with them go
Mild Otway, sentimental Rowe:
Congreve averts the indignant eye,
And Shakespeare mourns to view the exotic prodigy

and three more stanzas in which the terms *"democratic* rant" and *"low born* arrogance" plainly show the political animus of this criticism![180]

The Theatrical Censor referred to above was announced in the papers in October of 1805: "A new publication to be entitled *The Theatrical Censor* will commence when the Theatre opens. A number (consisting of eight pages octavo) will appear every Saturday during the performances. This work will be conducted by a society of gentlemen, who, by an unprejudiced review of the performers and the performances hope to contribute to the much desired reform of the American stage and produce a change which the lovers of the drama have long called for in vain, and to which American liberality fully entitles them.

'O, there be players. . . .'

Those, who please to patronize the work, are requested to send their names and places of abode to John Watts, Polyglot

[180] *Portfolio*, New Series 1, '92. Cf., also Davis, Translations of German Poetry in American Magazines, 1741-1810. Philadelphia, *Americana Germanica* 1905, p. 159.

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office, corner Eleventh and Walnut Streets. Terms of Subscribers are 75 cents per month—50 cents of which are to be paid at the time of subscribing." No. XVII refers to a similar publication in New York and to others better known: "During the appearance of our numbers, a paper similar in its design and very praiseworthy in its execution has received its birth in New York. We have also some good critiques in the *Boston Magazine,* the *Polyanthos* and others. We even venture to hope, that this object will be zealously pursued in every part of the continent, in which a Theatre is supported." The first number appeared December 9, 1805. A note on page 29 states: "The whole edition of the first and second numbers of *The Theatrical Censor* being sold, a second is in press; orders having arrived for them from almost every city in the *United States.*" The criticisms show an acquaintance with French, Italian and classical lore, but little attention is given the German, and even in commenting on the play of *Mary Queen of Scots* no reference is made to Schiller's *Maria Stuart.*

Other plays to note this season are the tragedy, *Hunter of the Alps; Mary Queen of Scots,* tragedy, first time in Philadelphia, pronounced by *The Theatrical Censor* a chef-d'œuvre. "It was written by St. John in 1783 and acted at Drury Lane for the first time in 1789, with great applause. The story is interesting to Britons, and it is well worked up by the author."[131] The cast is given as follows: Duke of Norfolk—Wood; Lord Herries—Cain; Sir Wm. Ceret—McKenzie; Beton—Warren; Earl of Huntingdon—Taylor; Davidson—Rutherford; Sir Amias Paulet—Francis; Earl of Shrewsberry—Cross; Nawe—Blisset; Sheriff—Durang; Servant—Mestayer; Lieutenant of Tower—Bray; Officers, etc.; Queen Elizabeth—Mrs. Melmoth; Lady Douglass—Mrs. Jefferson; Lady Serope—Mrs. Seymour; Mary Queen of Scots—Mrs. Wignell. *"John Bull,"* at the end of this play, a new song called *William Tell,* by Mr. Woodham. *Captain Smith,* a new melodrama; *Matrimony,* for the first time, by J. Kenny; the cast shows these characters, Baron de Limburg, Delaval, O'Clogherty

[131] *Theatrical Censor,* p. 73.

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(alias Grimgroffinhoff). *The Gamester,* a tragedy, commented on by *The Theatrical Censor:* "We shall conclude this critique with a cursory reflection, that were *The Gamester* a more modern production, it would be called an imitation of the *German School.* We have here addresses to the Deity and much dumb acting. We allude particularly to the last scene . . . There are few tragedies that deserve a higher reputation than the very deep one of *The Gamester.* It is, as the Misanthrope says in *The Stranger,* "a tale to be met with any day, to be heard in every street."[182] Besides these we note April 9th, *Fox Chase,* for the first time, "by a citizen of Philadelphia."* We note the continuance of the melodrama *Tale of Mystery* and horror spectacles such as *Castle Spectre.* Plays showing French origin are *Cinderella,* an Allegorical Pantomime spectacle, first time in America, January 1, after a run of 100 nights in Drury Lane, London, in 1804-1805. It was played 12 times during this season.[183] *Wife of two Husbands,* spoken of this season as a drama, derived from a French Opera, "and is little more than a translation by Dunlap."[184] *Follies of a Day or Marriage of Figaro,* spoken of as "one of the most indecent productions of the last century; and it is seldom so badly performed as not to give all its *equivoque* the fullest force."[185].

Shakespeare is represented by *Macbeth; Othello; Henry IV; Richard II; Romeo and Juliet; Hamlet; Coriolanus,* seven plays with ten performances. Cooper appeared in five of the Shakespeare plays, in *The Gamester* and *Castle Spectre* and for his benefit chose *Pizarro.*

During the summer months the *Aurora* included Literary Selections, and on May 23 appeared in its colums extracts from

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[182] Th. C. XVI., p. 146.

[183] Cf. Th. C. VII., p. 39. "The story on which *Cinderella* is founded we remember to have seen in old French; and some centuries ago it was translated for the entertainment of young masters and misses. La Fontaine has versified it under the title *Les trois filles de Mince.* The most correct and authentic edition of *Cinderella* was printed by Mr. John Newburg, St. Paul's Church Yard, London, about the year 1740."

[184] Th. C. VII., p. 59. Cf., also season of 1904-1905.

[185] Th. C. IX., p. 78.

* Chas. Breck.

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the *Edinburgh Review* of Kotzebue's Travels. *The Dramatick Repository* announced on December 18, 1905, "a very extensive assortment of plays is now ready for sale at the Dramatick Repository and Book Store N. 96, corner Third and Chestnut Streets, where every new play may be had as soon as published; catalogues of which are now ready to be distributed. . . ." Samuel F. Bradford announced in the papers as having on hand Kotzebue's *Travels Through Italy,* in the years 1804-1805, 4 vol.; *Life of Professor Gellert,* with a course of moral lessons delivered by him in the University of Leipzic" (sic.); *Herman and Emilia,* from the German of Augustus La Fontaine; *Dramatick Scenes* from the German; *The Sorrows of Werter.* The numerous articles on German authors and their works in the *Literary Magazine* and *American Register,* Philadelphia, for 1806, attest further the interest in German matters; they include references to Kotzebue, Humboldt, Lavater, Frederick the Great, Schiller, biographical sketch, Goethe, Criticism of the *Sorrows of Werter.*[186] Wilkens gives for 1806 a New York publication of *"Abellino,"* a reprint of the London publication of 1905, itself a translation from a French translation of the original *Abaellino der grosse Bandit.*[187]

After April 9, 1806, the Philadelphia company went South, to Baltimore, Alexandria, etc. At the "Old Theatre," Southwark, under the management of Manfredi, there was a company of rope dancers, some Pantomimes were also given, but the announcements are too irregular to determine whether there were any plays. Performances took place on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays.

The "New Theatre," Chestnut Street, was opened on June 18, 1806, for a short summer season, eight nights. Mr. Poe from Virginia appeared for the first time in Philadelphia, playing Young Narval in *Douglass,* June 20. Mrs. Poe had appeared before, now in *Rosina.* On July 9 *The Robbers* was given as stated above.

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[186] For complete list cf. Goodnight, p. 115.
[187] Cf. Wilkens, App. N. 113.

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Fourteenth Season at the Chestnut Street Theatre, December 1, 1806 *to April* 23, 1807.

The German plays for this season were *Lovers' Vows,* December 3; *Pizarro,* January 7; *La Perouse,* January 21; *The Robbers,* February 23; *Abaellino,* February 27; *Virgin of the Sun,* March 9. There were six plays, one performance each, four from Kotzebue, and one each from Schiller, and Zschokke. No new play appears this season.

Lovers' Vows is announced as the favorite comedy, the first time in four years, namely, during the season of 1801-1802. It was Mrs. Inchbald's version as the first performance in 1799 had been. I have not been able to learn, when *The Theatrical Censor* referred to above ceased its activities, but another publication with a similar name and purpose appeared in 1806, and in it we find many interesting criticisms, sometimes hostile and severe. Of this performance of *Lovers' Vows* it says: "This play ought not to be repeated. The translation is paltry, the original flimsy, and the fable injudicious. It interests the feelings; but this is not sufficient praise. Those who interest our feelings upon improper occasions, and for improper purposes, injure and not serve us."[188] A performance of this same play in New York, and one in Boston, are referred to at length in the same periodical, and as these criticisms appear in this Philadelphia journal they may well find a place here, especially as they touch on the subject of German plays in general. "The play of *Lovers' Vows* is no favorite with us. We object to its plot, as feeble and uninteresting; we object to its incidents as trite and trifling; we object to its language, as childishly colloquial; we more than all object to its tendency, as highly immoral. Its hero, for whom all the sympathy of the audience is attempted to be excited, commits highway robberies, contemplates parricide, which he excuses or palliates by sophistical distinctions, calculated to impose on ordinary minds, and win them over to his side, and which are too feebly answered, by the weak and tame *Arnaud,* to make any

[188] *The Theatrical Censor* and Critical Miscellany, by Gregory Gryphen, Esq., N. 1, Philadelphia, September 27, 1806, with the motto from Ben Jonson, Chide or cheer the drooping Stage, p. 186.

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counter impression. In the most extravagant language he heaps curses on his father (and this, by the way, has always passed as the finest scene in the piece) and is at last made happy in a reconciliation with him. The heroine is first seduced, and afterward well married to her seducer, raised far above the pristine condition, and elevated to splendor and nobility . . . but the many childish incidents that are introduced into *Amelia,* and the childish language put into her mouth, are ill calculated to permit any actress to acquire reputation in the character . . . was there ever a more striking impropriety than for a young lady to visit a young fellow, confined in prison for highway robbery, and introduce herself to him with a basket of meat and a bottle of wine for his refreshment? But, there would be no end of such questions! All we shall say is, *if the audience will be pleased with such pieces, we cannot help it; it does them no credit.*"[139]

And again: "It has been considered a maxim, in dramatic writing, that every play should be written for some express *moral purpose,* or should at least be so construed as in the conduct or catastrophe, to have a *moral tendence.* The introduction of *German plays* on the English stage is a direct infringement on this principle; inasmuch as their stories are generally founded on some crime committed, which, for the good of society ought never to be forgiven, but which the catastrophe seldom fails to extenuate. We do not mean to attach to *Lovers' Vows,* in particular, the general censure we have applied to *German plays;* but we mean to assert that admitting it to be more free from faults than any other of Kotzebue, it is yet essentially repugnant in character and sentiment to the genuine tendency of pure and unsophisticated English comedy. For, what is the foundation, and what the result of this play?

Agatha Fribourg is deluded, under a promise of marriage, by Baron Wildenheim; who leaves her with a boy, the unfortunate issue of their ill-fated connection. Here we have an admission that females are *easily* deluded; and under the promise of marriage, Agatha's peace of mind is not only destroyed, but she is

[139] Th. C., pp. 86, 87.

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left a prey to the frowns of penury and the gripings of disease. Now, what follows, as the consequences of the seduction? *Frederic,* the offspring of this attachment, becomes a soldier, and returning home on a furlough to obtain the certificate of his birth, he finds his mother houseless, by the way-side, almost perishing for want. Being unable materially to relieve her distressing condition, he resolves to procure means, by begging on the highway. He meets Baron Wildenheim, and requests money of him, and, the small sum which he receives not being sufficient, he deliberately draws his sword, and demands more. It must be observed, that this circumstance does not take place until after much time has elapsed, on the stage. Had *Frederick* attempted robbery from the impulse excited by his mother's distress, he had possibly been justified; but a deliberate commission of crime constitutes guilt. And why draw his sword on one who had given him money; why not on one who had refused him. *Kotzebue* makes the innocent wretched, and the guilty prosperous. He plunges Agatha into the depths of want, servitude and misery, while he continues Baron Wildenheim in all his possessions, and ultimately happy. The pride of the Baron, too, has no punishment, but it would seem as if every crime were whitened, and every stain eradicated from his character, the moment he consents to admit Agatha to his reluctant favour. It is an idea founded in just reason, that no writer should present vicious persons in a pleasing shape, thereby giving false attractions to immorality and turpitude; on the contrary, he should be stow his utmost pains on virtuous characters. *Kotzebue,* in the person of the Baron, presents us with a man in whom good and evil are so mingled as to leave us in doubt whether to hate or love him. His vices, however, abstracted from his character would justly excite detestation."[140 and 141]

Pizarro, January 7, is announced as the Celebrated Tragedy and no notice seems to have been taken of it. Wood, however, says: "The combination of Mrs. Melmoth and Mrs. Wignell, attracted large audiences to the *Distressed Mother, Mary Queen of*

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[140] and [141] Th. C., p. 121. Note 41, p. 73, sixth season, refers to the Inchbald version of *Lovers' Vows* and not to *The Stranger,* as might be inferred.

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Scots, Essex, Pizarro, and other tragedies.[142] *La Perouse,* January 21, passed without any notice and likewise *The Robbers,* February 23, Wood playing *Charles de Moor.* In connection with his account of the seasons 1804-1807 Wood speaks of an accident to himself while playing *Charles de Moor:* "During a performance of Charles de Moor the rupture of a blood vessel, while I was acting *Charles* in the fourth act, put a stop to the play for a while and it was thought a final one for the actor. A month's care and retirement, however, fully restored me, and no return ever occurred. The remainder of the part was cleverly got through by Mr. McKenzie, whose frequent performance of *Switzer* had made him familiar with the text."[143] We might infer from this statement that *The Robbers* had been frequently performed before this time, but I think Wood has mistaken the date of the accident, which should be placed a year or two later, because Wood appears but a few days later in *Abaellino,* on March 27, 1807, whereas he speaks of a month's retirement, and moreover on the occasion of the only previous performance of *The Robbers,* in which Wood took part, namely, July, 1806, the cast shows McKenzie as playing *Francis de Moor.*

Abaellino, the Great Bandit, February 27, is announced as the celebrated play without any mention of the author, and the full cast is given. While in Alexandria Mr. and Mrs. Wood chose for their benefit night *Abaellino,*[144] and also took the leading parts in this Philadelphia performance, according to the cast. A criticism of a performance in New York with Cooper in the leading rôle appears, however, in the same *Theatrical Censor* cited last. "This play, notwithstanding its objectionable plot, and notwithstanding the inconsistence and the many contradictions in its principal character, will always create a very considerable share of interest, whenever that character is placed in the hands of such a performer as Mr. Cooper. The author has in-

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[142] Cf. Wood, *Personal Recollections,* p. 109.
[143] Wood, p. 110.
[144] *Theatrical Censor,* Gryphen, p. 57.

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dulged in a license of improbability, to be found in no other play, for the purpose of awakening and keeping alive, till denouement, the whole curiosity of the spectators, without reflecting, that though the effect may be very great on its first exhibition, yet that the illusion being once dissipated, this curiosity, on which he plans almost his whole reliance, must necessarily die, on its frequent repetition. So totally irreconcilable are the language and sentiments put into the mouth of *Abaellino,* in the beginning of the piece, with those expressed by him in the close, that some persons of refined taste have declared themselves shocked and disgusted. Still *Abaellino* draws houses and commands plaudits, a proof, that whatever objections may be brought against it in some particulars, it must on the whole possess no indifferent portion of stage merit. But is it not laughable, on turning to the play, to observe our German author gravely informing the actress, when and where to "shrink," to "look with affected composure," to "smile playfully," to "speak with dignity," to "cast down her eyes confusedly," to "pause," to "look with constraint, sometimes on the floor, sometimes at each other sidewise," to "look with a smile of innocence," to "suppress a sigh," to speak "with a faultering voice," to "shake her head and smile," to "skip off,' to "play with her dress," to "stop and look down," to "smile and look up." It is indeed treating Rosamunda like still more of a child than he has made her in character."

Virgin of the Sun, March 9, has the additional title *The First of Spaniards in Peru,* or the *Death of Rolla,* and no notice seems to have been taken of it. It would seem from a note in a later publication, in 1810, *The Mirror of Taste and Dramatic Censor,* that *The Theatrical Censor* quoted from continued till 1810, but I have not been able to find any copy after 1806.[145]

I have already referred in the last season to *The Wheel of Fortune,* by Cumberland, performance this season January 3, as

[145] *Mirror of Taste and Dramatic Censor.* Philadelphia. Published by Bradford and Innskeep, Innskeep and Bradford, New York; and William McIlhenny, Boston, Smith & McKenzie, Printers, 1810. "It happened about the time we commenced this work, a weekly publication, partly on the same plan, was dropped by the proprietors; from this arose a report that the *Mirror* had fallen to the ground." . . . See additional references to this periodical in 1810.

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a play showing German origin. This assumption based on the partial cast receives corroboration in an article in *The Theatrical Censor* in 1806 referring to a performance of this play in New York. "Never (observes Mrs. Inchbald) was there a play taken from another with such ingenuity, such nice art, and so little injury to either,—as this play has been taken from the German *Misanthropy and Repentance;* still leaving the German to be translated into English, under the title of *The Stranger.* It is said (continues she) that Mr. Cumberland merely saw a critique of Kotzebue's drama, in a review, some years before it was brought upon the London stage; and from this collected the substance for this most interesting play. But whether he had in his possession the German production or not, it is certain that he is no further indebted to the foreign author, than for a faint glimmering of plot, incident and character; to which he has added his own original sunshine. *The Stranger,* in one high instance, has pre-eminence over *The Wheel of Fortune*—the female character is there of infinite importance. But, want of taste is not the fault of Mr. Cumberland, in thus diminishing the pathos of his heroine; his feeling and delicacy would not permit her fall from virtue. But, still his gallantry ought to have furnished a lady with a little more to say, in the scenes where she is concerned; and this would have increased the interest of the play.

It always affords a satisfaction to see a play of sterling merit brought forward on the boards, and a sort of pride, to perceive the town so capable of relishing its beauties, as to encourage and reward the exhibition, by crowding to the house. *The Wheel of Fortune,* . . . holds a high place in the list of modern productions."[146] This throws an interesting side light on the English "plagiarisms" referred to by various writers and also on the reason for the vogue of German plays in England and America, and will be referred to again in the conclusion of this study.

Although there was no performance of *The Stranger* this season on the Philadelphia stage, a reference to it in the same *Theatrical Censor* in connection with a performance in New York

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[146] *Theatrical Censor,* p. 87.

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may well find a place here, as it shows the continued interest in the German plays, and a willingness to let the other side be heard: "This is one of Kotzebue's best plays; perhaps the very best. Objections have more frequently been made to its *moral tendence,* than on any other account. The defence of Mrs. Inchbald is so ingenious, that we copy it without apology: There seems to be required, by a number of well-meaning persons of the present day, a degree of moral perfection, in a play, which few literary works attain; and in which sermons, and other holy productions, are at times deficient, though written with the purest intention.

In this general failure of human imperfection, the German author of this play has compassionated and with a high, sublime example before him, an adultress. But Kotzebue's pity, vitiated by his imperfect nature, has, it is said, deviated into vice—by restoring this woman to her former rank in life, under the roof of her former husband.

To reconcile to the virtuous spectator this indecorum, most calamitous woes are first depicted, as the consequence of illicit love. The deserted husband and the guilty wife, are both presented to the audience, as voluntary exiles from society. . . . The language, as well as the plot and incidents, of this play, describe with effect these multiplied miseries which the dishonor of a wife spreads around, but draws more especially upon herself, her husband and her children. . . .

But a delicate spectator feels a sudden shudder when the catastrophe takes place; but there is another spectator, more delicate still, who never conceives, that from an agonizing, though affectionate embrace (the only proof of reconciliation given, for the play ends here), any further endearments will ensue, than those of participated sadness, mutual care of their joint offspring, and to smooth each other's passage to the grave. But should the worst suspicion of the scrupulous be true, and this man should actually have taken his wife, for better or for worse, as on the bridal day, can thus be holding out temptation, as alleged for women to be false to their husband? Sure, it would rather act as a preservative. What woman of common under-

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standing and common cowardice, would dare to dishonor and forsake her husband, if she foresaw she was likely to live with him again?"[147]

Another play which attracted considerable attention was *The School of Reform,* or *How to Rule a Husband,* by Thomas Morton, Esq., December 5. "This is an Anglo-German play, in which what was, till lately, the modern English comedy, struggles with the German drama. It is, accordingly, a singular hotch-potch, in which we are pleased with part, but offended with the whole. . . . On the subject of religion, of which so much is obtruded in this play, Mr. Morton deserves a severe rap on the knuckles. From what conventicle did Mr. Morton bring forth his *Old Tyke* with his book of devotions?—Who can tell us, whether the old man was either more or less than a hypocrite? . . . But nothing of this sort was contemplated by Mr. Morton. It is only a stage-trick. It has been discovered (wonderful discovery!) by the aid of *Kotzebue* and *Schiller,* that piety and the name of God are sources that may be drawn on for the sublime, for the pathetic. . . . At the conclusion of the second act, the author has departed from the *sobriety* of the *English drama* and interwoven much of the *German style.* . . ."[148] As one of the characteristics of which, *extravagance* is dwelt on. The above extract as well as another to follow shows a clear consciousness of the reality and influence for good or evil of the German school. A summing up of the net results of the first two weeks of this season is as follows: "Since the opening of the theatre, a very agreeable variety has been offered to the lovers of the drama. We have seen comedies of *several schools.* Mr. Sheridan's (*School for Scandal*), December 1, is an elegant specimen of the French comedy; in *Lovers' Vow,* December 3, we witness the German; in the *School of Reform,* December 5, a mixture of the French and German; in the *Honey Moon,* by John Tobin, Esq., December 8, the Old English formed on the Spanish and Italian; and in the *School for Friends,*

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[147] Th. C., p. 149.
[148] Th. C., p. 188.

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by Miss Chambers, December 10, the true 'comedie larmoyante' of the French."[149] A criticism of the latter offers another opportunity for a slap at the German school. "When vice is tricked out in all the meretricious embellishments that rank and wealth can afford; when honor is but a counterfeit seal for knaves to talk of . . . it is pleasant to see one writer enlisted on the side of virtue and modesty. . . ."[150]

Other plays to note for this season are: *Cinderella, Castle Spectre, Valentine and Orson,* melodrama, first time January 1; *Paul and Virginia, Hunter of the Alps, She Stoops to Conquer, Black Castle,* or *Spectre of the Forest,* melodrama from the popular tale of that name. *Clandestine Marriage,* benefit of Lewis Hallam, a veteran of the American stage, 56 years of appearance on the Philadelphia stage. Other plays of French origin to note are *Theseus and Ariadne,* melodrama translated from the French grand spectacle of that name, Paris 100 nights. *Manager in Distress,* by G. Coleman, from *Le Directeur dans l'Embarras.*

Shakespeare is represented by *Othello,* Mr. Fennel in the title rôle *King Lear; Richard III; Henry IV; Macbeth; King John; Henry VIII; Romeo and Juliet; Merry Wives of Windsor;* and *Coriolanus,* ten plays with twelve performances in all.

A short summer season at the Chestnut Street house from June 22, to July 7, presents nothing of special interest, though we may note *Glory of Columbia,* historical play, for the first time in Philadelphia, March 25, and repeated July 4, founded on an interesting fact during the period of the American Revolution.

A French theatre of vaudeville class is advertised on January 20, 1807, as playing at first in the "Old Theatre," South Street, and later at Sicard's Ballroom on Dock Street. In March, after the French company has gone we find Manfredi again at the "Old Theatre." Some of the French plays announced were: "*Le Directeur dans l'Embarras,* Perplexed Manager or *Manager in Distress,* as known in the 'New Theatre,' in which Mr. Daudet will perform 6 parts," *Le Déménagement, Arlequin Bon Père, Le*

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[149] Th. C., p. 202.
[150] Th. C., p. 211.

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Sourd, ou l'auberge pleine, L'Avocat Patelin, the original of the very popular *Village Lawyer.*

The concerts of this time still show many French names, announcements of French publications become more frequent, two French papers, one in Louisiana and one at Charleston, S. C., are announced and subscriptions solicited.[151] On August 11, in the *Gazette* is announced: "Mes Souvenirs de Vingt Ans séjour à Berlin ou Fréderic le Grand, Original Anecdotes of Frederic the Second, King of Prussia and of his Family, Court, his Ministers, his Academies and his Literary Friends. Collected during a familiar Intercourse of Twenty Years with that Prince. Translated from the French of Dieudonné Thiebault, Professor of Belles Lettres in the Academy of Berlin. 2 Vol. 1805." This is an announcement of a London publication.

The "Old Theatre" was occupied again from July 25, to October 12. The repertoire is similar to that of the "New Theatre," except that more farces, sketches, etc., prevail. On July 30, is announced *The Dutch Fisherman* or a Scene in Holland, Liliputian Frolic, Pantomime Dance, and then follows in large German characters, *Der Zwergel Tantz,* to conclude with the Magic Chamber, *Das Schattenspiel.* This was repeated again on August 7. May this have been to attract the German element in the city, if so, it is the first effort in that direction noted. On September 16, a farce is announced, *Die alte Jungfer,* also in German characters.[152] The short season ends with *Lovers' Vows,* October 12, announced as Mrs. Inchbald's celebrated comedy, Mrs. Wilmot in the leading role.

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[151] A French Newspaper. Proposals for printing a new French journal, to be entitled the *Philosophical, Political and Literary Journal.* By an inhabitant of Louisiana, published the first of every month, octavo 128 pp. $8.00 a year. Subscriptions received at French printing office, N. 20 S. Broad Street; M. P. Roche's Book Store, N. 40 S. Fifth Street; at the office of the *Portfolio,* and at Thomas & Wm. Bradford's, N. 8 S. Front Street. And again: Subscriptions will be received at the *Aurora* office for a political and literary newspaper, published on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, at Charleston, S. C., by J. J. Negrin. $7.00 a year. Followed by the announcement in French: Les abonnemens seront reçues au bureau de l'Aurore pour *l'Oracle,* une Gazette politique et litéraire, imprimé tous les Mardi, Jeudi, Samedi à Charleston, S. C., par J. J. Negrin, à sept gourdes par an. Cf. *"The Aurora,"* December 8, 1806, and March 31, 1807.

[152] Cf. p. 20.

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Shakespeare is represented by two plays, *Catharine and Petrucchio,* three performances, and *Richard III,* once, four performances in all.

Summary of German performances for all the theatres:

Chestnut Street Theatre, 6 plays, one performance each.

"Old Theatre," Southwark, 1 play, one performance.

The New Amphitheatre, Central Square, was opened September 15, 1806, under the management of T. Swann, and was given up to horsemanship; no plays even of the lighter kind were found advertised.

In the Wilkens list we find no publications in 1807 bearing on this subject unless we mention *The Devil and Dr. Faustus,* Montpelier, Vt., a reprint or adaptation of one of the English chap-books on the subject.[153]

Goodnight has listed a number of interesting references in Boston magazines, including notes on Wieland's *Oberon,* on *Pizarro,* and a criticism of *The Robbers.*[154]

Fifteenth Season. Chestnut Street Theatre, December 7, 1807, to April 21, 1808.

The German plays for the season were *Pizarro,* December 23; *The Robbers,* January 13; *Abaellino,* January 22; *Reconciliation* or *Birthday,* February 8; *Of Age to Morrow,* April 4. There were five performances of as many plays, three from Kotzebue and one each from Schiller and Zschokke. The one play new to Philadelphia was *Of Age to Morrow.*

With none of the German plays is any author mentioned except in the case of *The Robbers,* with Wood playing Charles de Moor. The only new play to note is *Of Age to Morrow,*[155] from Kotzebue, with only one performance this season on April 4, though it proved later to be a very popular piece and held the stage for a long time. Wilkens mentions the publication of Dunlap's translation under the title *The Wild Goose Chase,* a

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[153] Cf. Wilkens, App. 115.

[154] Cf. Goodnight, *German Literature in American Literature,* pp. 117-119.

[155] *Der Wildfang,* Lustspiel in 3 Akten, Leipzig, 1798.

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play in four acts, with songs,[156] in 1800 and also Charles Smith's translation, published in New York, 1800 under the title, *The Wild Youth,* a comedy for digestion. *Of Age to Morrow* was Thomas Dibdin's version, published in New York 1806 and 1808 as a reprint of the London publication of 1806.[157] It is announced as a comic opera, for the first time in America, but no author is mentioned. Later it is announced as a musical entertainment and also as a farce. A partial cast shows the following characters: Baron Wellinghoerst, Baron Peffleberg, Molkus, Sophia, Maria, (with additional song). According to Sellier Dibdin's version appeared in London for the first time February 1, 1800, and he supposes that Dibdin, who knew no German, may have used Dunlap's translation. Sellier, however, in quoting Wilkens places 1798 as the time of Dunlap's translation instead of the summer of 1799, one year later, and the first New York performance was on January 24, 1800, the publication appearing the same year, 1800. The interval would seem too short to allow Dibdin to have seen Dunlap's translation, unless he had at his disposal a manuscript copy of it. This Dibdin version was a success in London with 36 successive performances. Sellier also mentions a play under the title *The Wild Goose Chase,* as popular in the forties on the London stage, but cannot say whether it was identical with Dunlap's translation.[158] No notice seems to have been taken of the play at this time in the daily papers nor in any of the other publications.

Of other plays we note *Harlequin Dr. Faustus* or the *Punishment of Profligacy,* January 1, 2 and 15, for the first time since the season of 1795-'96.[159] Two other plays of interest and possible German origin, had their first performance this season: *Adrian and Orilla* or a *Mother's Vengeance,* is announced as a new play, first time in Philadelphia, and is assigned to Dimond, author of *Hunter of the Alps.*

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[156] Cf. Wilkens, App. 47 and 67.

[157] Cf. Wilkens, App. 113b and 125.

[158] For discussion of this play and its success on the London stage see Sellier, pp. 71-73.

[159] Cf. Season of 1795-96, for an outline of the scenes, etc.

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The cast was as follows: Prince Altenberg—Wood; Count of Rosenheim—Warren; Adrian—Cain; Michael—Jefferson; Leopold—Burns; Anselm—Lerson; Hanfray, a minstrel—Robbins; Lothaire, a page—Mrs. Wilmot; Orilla of Rosenheim—Mrs. Wood; Mme. Clermont—Mrs. Warren; Gertha, governess of Orilla—Mrs. Melmoth; Minna—Mrs. Seymour; Loutgard—Mrs. Mullen; Ida—Miss Hunt. Domestics, falconers, male and female, peasants, etc. There were seven performances this season, February 12, 15, 22, 29, March 14, April 1 and 9.

The other play was *The Fortress,* the first time in America, melodrama by Theodore Hooke, original music by the same, from the Haymarket Theatre, London. Act 1, Hall in Fortress of Guntzbourg, in the centre a grate, through which is seen the Terrace; Act 2, Interior of Castle—Yard—Dungeon—Guard Room—Porter's Lodge; Act 3, Place d'Armes, Green House, Paulina's Dwelling. Some of the characters are: Count Adolphus, Count Everard, Valbron, Oliver, Vincent, Philip, Thomas Petras, Celestine, Alice, Pauline; Female Peasants, Soldiers—Peasants, There were five performances, distributed as follows: February 26, March 2, 16, April 1 and 21.

Of plays of French origin we note *Indian Princess* or *La Belle Sauvage,* operatic melodrama by J. N. Barker, Philadelphia, April 6; *The Mock Doctor* or *The Dumb Lady Cured,* from the French of Molière, January 13, February 27, April 14. The *Miser,* January 29. *Paul and Virginia* is also represented.

Of plays appearing for the first time we note *Arbitration,* musical entertainment by J. Kenny, March 19; *A School for Arrogance,* comedy, March 12; *Three and Deuce,* musical entertainment by Prince Hoare, March 7, a play that remained popular for a long time; *Curfew* or *Norman Barons,* by John Tobin, December 16 and 21; *Tom's a Tell-Tale,* comedy by Henry Siddons, first time in America, March 4.

Shakespeare is represented by *As You Like it; Catharine and Petrucchio; Hamlet; Henry V.,* for the first time in Philadelphia; *King Lear; Macbeth; Merchant of Venice; Merry Wives of Windsor; Othello; Richard III; Romeo and Juliet;* eleven plays in all and thirteen performances. Public feeling for

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the French still ran high and prevented a repetition of *Henry V.* Wood relates that the play "was acted with some care and cost, and would, probably, have become popular, but for a sudden exception taken by a large and violent part of the audience to a particular passage, where Henry replies to Mountjoy's demand of unconditional surrender, he says:

> My people are with sickness much enfeebled,
> My numbers lessened, and those few I have
> Almost no better than so many French;
> Who, when they were in health, I tell thee Herald
> I thought upon one pair of English legs,
> Did march three Frenchmen.

This unlucky piece of English patriotism was accordingly met by a strong dissent from many of the audience, and of such continuance as threatened an abrupt conclusion of the play. After some minutes peace was reluctantly permitted, and the actors allowed to proceed with little notice . . . but it was not advisable to repeat the play." As the relations of this country with England became more strained than ever and not long afterward ended in open war, the non-appearance of this play for years to come is readily explained.[160]

The publications listed by Wilkens for 1808 are Thomas Dibdin's *Of Age to Morrow,* a New York publication, reprint of the London one of 1806. Kotzebue's *The Rights of Hospitality,* New York. David Longworth, supposed by Wilkens to be a reprint of *The Wanderer,* or, the *Rights of Hospitality,* London, 1808, which appears for the first time on the Philadelphia stage the next season, 1808-'09 Two other Longworth publications, reprints of London editions were Benjamin Thompson's version of Kotzebue's *The Stranger* and Schiller's *Robbers.*

The Old Theatre was used this season for light entertainments by Swann, but no regular plays are mentioned in any of the announcements.

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[160] For a previous reference to French feeling, cf. the Southwark Theatre season of 1789 and also Chestnut Street Theatre, third season, 1795-1796, where inadvertently a quotation from Wood is repeated.

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Sixteenth Season, Chestnut Street Theatre, November 7, 1808, to April 13, 1809.

The German plays for the season were *Pizarro,* November 9, and March 27; *Abaellino,* November 14; *Of Age to Morrow,* November 16 and December 21; *The Robbers,* November 30; *Reconciliation* or *Fraternal Discord,* January 9; *Lovers' Vows,* February 8; *The Wanderer* or *The Rights of Hospitality,* March 6. There were nine performances of seven plays, five from Kotzebue, and one each from Schiller and Zschokke. *The Wanderer* was new to Philadelphia.

In *Pizzaro,* November 9, Wood played Rolla, and March 27 was a benefit night for Robbins, the principal scene painter. *Abaellino* is announced as the celebrated play and, as in last season, author or translator are not mentioned, not even in the case of *The Robbers,* November 30, in which as usual Wood played Charles de Moor. *Of Age to Morrow* was given twice as an after piece, on December 21, following *Hamlet,* Cooper's benefit night. *Reconciliation* appears with the secondary title *Fraternal Discord.* This is the title under which Dunlap's version of Kotzebue's play appeared and we might suppose that the performance on January 9 was Dunlap's version, but for the fact that the play is announced as a comedy in three acts, while Dunlap's version is a drama in five acts. Curiously enough Dunlap's version had been given in New York on December 21, only a short time before the Philadelphia performance, still the latter must have been Dibdin's version,[161] which generally appears under the title *The Birthday. Lovers' Vows,* February 8, is announced with the full cast, showing Master Barret, for the first time in this theatre in the role of Frederic.

The assumption that the Philadelphia play *Reconciliation,* in spite of the unusual secondary title *Fraternal Discord,* was not Dunlap's version, is still more justified from a passage in the introduction to Dunlap's *Fraternal Discord,* Drama in 5 Acts,

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[161] Cf. Notes 45, 46, 47 and 48, 1799-1800, giving the references to Sellier, Wilkens and Dunlap.

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Longworth, 1807.[162] "This comedy is a translation by Wm. Dunlap, Esq., of New York, from the German of Kotzebue, and ranks among the best of the productions of that celebrated author. . . . It met with a reception corresponding to its distinguished merits. There is another but very inferior translation of this play, which has been performed in Philadelphia under the title *Reconciliation.*" Was it perhaps the popularity of the New York play *Fraternal Discord* that caused the Philadelphia managers to add to *Reconciliation* the secondary title *Fraternal Discord* in place of the usual one of Dibdin's version, *The Birthday?*

The one new German play for this season was *The Wanderer; or, The Rights of Hospitality,*[163] from Kotzebue. As appears from the German title given this was not an original play of Kotzebue, but a free translation from the French of Duval. It was announced as a play translated from the German of Kotzebue by Charles Kemble. No cast is given with the only performance this season, March 6th, and it does not seem to have been given again in Philadelphia till 1820-1821, at the Tivoli Theatre. It was announced in advance for April 3d, of this season, but a change must have been made, for the actual bill for that day was the *Gamester* and *Forty Thieves.* According to Sellier it was popular in London and given frequently at Covent Garden Theatre into the twenties, having appeared there for the first time in 1808.[164] It appeared in print in London this same year and as a reprint in New York.[165]

Harlequin Dr. Faustus was given once this season, December 10th, and Cumberland's *Wheel of Fortune* also once, April 7th. A number of plays, while not announced as German plays, nor even acknowledged as such by the authors, may be altera-

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[162] This reference is taken from the copy, forming a part of the *Jackson Collection of American Plays* at the University of Pennsylvania.

[163] *Eduard in Schottland* oder *Die Nacht eines Flüchtlings,* historisches Drama in drei Akten von Duval, aus dem vom Verfaser mitgeteilten Mscr. frey übersetzt. Leipzig, 1804.

[164] Cf. Sellier, p. 76.

[165] Cf. Wilkens, App. 129.

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tions of German plays or at least partly taken from or suggested by such or German romances. Such are *Adrian and Orilla,* by Dimond, November 16th, the cast of which is given in the preceding season.[166] Theodore Edw. Hook is represented by two plays: *The Fortress,* December 24th, January 6th, also spoken of last season with characters and scene, and *Tekeli; or, The Siege of Montgatz,* Melodrama in 3 Acts from Drury Lane, London, two seasons for the first time in Philadelphia. Count Tekeli, Wolf, his friends, Bras de Fer and Maurice, his soldiers, Edmund, Austrian Lieutenant, Isidore, Austrian Soldiers, Peasants, Female Peasants. First Scene, Forest. Act 2, Interior of the Store-House of the Mill of Keben, Conrad the Miller, Christine his daughter, Frank, Principal Dancers, Count Caraffa, Dragoons. Act. 3. Gothic Hall, Procession of the Standard of Hungary, for God and our Country, Caraffa falls and Tekeli gives freedom to his country. *Tekeli* saw five performances this season, February 6th, 10th, 15th, 24th and March 3d. M. G. Lewis, however, seems to have been more prolific in this line of plays and in his case we have at least a partial admittance of the source of some of his writings. The first of these plays to note is *Adelgitha,* announced as a Tragedy in 5 Acts, for the first time in Philadelphia by the author of *Castle Spectre,* now performing in London with most distinguished applause. Act 1, A Grove with Chapel; 2, Port of Otranto; 4, Cavern; 5, Gothic Hall; with the following characters, Guiscard, Michael Ducas, Lothaire, Derectus, Alaphion, Hubert, Julian, Tancred, Adelgitha, Imma, Claudia, Abbess. *Adelgitha* was given three times this season, January 20th, 23d and March 1st. The second play of Lewis to note is *The Wood Daemon; or, The Clock Has Struck,* announced as a Melodrama in 3 Acts, from the original manuscript never yet published, by the author of *Castle Spectre, Adelgitha, Alfonso,* etc. (Dimond). Some of the characters are given, Hardyknute, Guelpho, steward of castle; Wittikind, his son; Seelyn, a dumb boy; Sangrida, Wood Daemon; Clotilda, Una. It was given three times this season, April 10th, 12th and 13th. Later on, in one of

[166] *Adrian and Orilla* was given last season on February 22nd, "in honor of the Anniversary of George Washington's Birthday."

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the other theatres, it is directly announced as "translated from the German." The third play was *Adelmorn the Outlaw,* Romantic Drama in 3 Acts, with the following characters, Sigismund, Duke of Saxony, Ulric, Count of Bergen, Adelmorn, Father Cyprian, Imogen. This was given but once this season, January 24th. The interest in this style of plays at this time is illustrated by the appearance this same year in New York of Romantic Tales, by M. G. Lewis, a reprint of the London edition of 1808,[167] in two volumes, containing *Mistrust; or, Blanche and Osbright; The Admiral Guarino; King Rodrigo's Fall; Bertrand and Mary-Belle; The Lord of Falkenstein; Sir Guy, the Seeker; The Anaconda; The Dying Bride; The Four Facardins,* Part I and Part II; *Oberon's Henchman, or the Legend of the Three Sisters; My Uncle's Garret-window; Bill Jones; Amorassan, or the Spirit of the Frozen Ocean.* In the preface Lewis admits that *Mistrust, The Anaconda, My Uncle's Garret-window, Amorassan, Bertrand and Mary-Belle* and *The Lord of Falkenstein* are taken from the German or partly suggested by German works. In connection with *Rugantino* of next season another reference will be found to Lewis' indebtedness to German writers.

Other plays to note for this season are *Bunker Hill,* January 14th, the first time at the Chestnut Street Theatre. This is by John Burk and was severely criticised by Dunlap in his letter from Boston to Hodgkinson in 1796.[168] In a letter to Dunlap in 1797 John Burk also speaks of his new tragedy *Joan of Arc; or, The Maid of Orleans,* now ready for representation. Henry Brook's *Gustavus Vasa; or, The Deliverer of His Country,* saw one performance. Two new plays "by a Philadelphian" were *School for Prodigals,* with only one performance, February 20th, not to be confused with Richard Penn Smith's *The Disowned; or, The Prodigals,* from the French and published in 1830, and *The Wounded Hussar,* March 29th. Holcroft's Melodrama, *Lady of the Rock,* appeared for the first time in Philadelphia and saw four performances. The most popular play of the season

[167] Cf. Wilkens, App. 135.
[168] Cf. Dunlap, p. 161.

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was R. B. Sheridan's *Forty Thieves,* an Operatic Romance, for the first time in America January 1, 1919, and had a run of twelve performances. A. Cherry's Operatic Drama, *The Travelers; or, Music's Fascination,* appeared as altered and adapted to the American stage by a citizen of Philadelphia, original music by Corri, orchestra, Pellisière, December 26th and two additional performances. This is probably of French origin, and besides the French play *Follies of a Day; or, The Marriage of Figaro,* we note one other play of French origin, *Who Pays the Piper?* Comic Opera translated from the French by Bray, March 25th.

Shakespeare is well represented this season by twelve different plays, thirteen performances, and Cooper's long engagement accounts for them. They were, *As You Like It, Catharine and Petrucchio, Hamlet,* two performances; *Henry IV, Julius Caesar, King Lear, Macbeth, Merchant of Venice, Merry Wives of Windsor, Othello, Richard III* and *Romeo and Juliet.*

The publications listed by Wilkens for 1809 are Dunlap's *Fraternal Discord,* D. Longworth, New York; J. H. Payne's version of *Lovers' Vows,* Baltimore, which will be referred to again in connection with the next season; a Boston reprint of R. B. Sheridan's *Pizarro;* M. G. Lewis' *Romantic Tales,* already referred to above in connection with his plays for this season; Baltimore and Boston reprints of M. G. Lewis' translation of *Abaellino, the Bravo of Venice.*[169] There is little or no reference to the theatre this season in the magazines of Philadelphia. The *Portfolio* has a short notice of new works of Kotzebue and Wieland. Several magazines at this time, notably the *Monthly Anthology* and *Boston Review,* print a parody on M. G. Lewis' and Walter Scott's translations of German and Danish ballads, ascribed to Washington Allston, namely, *The Paint King.*[170] No plays are listed from the Old Theatre this season.

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[169] Cf. Wilkens, App. 132-135, 138 and 139, and also 146 for 1810.

[170] The full text of "The Paint King" can also be found in Davis' Translation of German Poetry in American Magazines, 1741-1810; *Americana Germanica,* 1905; p. 183. Cf., also Goodnight, pp. 120, 170-176.

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Seventeenth Season, Chestnut Street Theatre, November 20, 1809, to April 27, 1810.

The German plays for this season were, *Of Age To Morrow,* November 20th and April 7th; *Pizarro,* November 22nd and December 15th; *Reconciliation,* November 29th; *Abaellino,* December 1st; *Lovers' Vows,* December 9th; *The Robbers,* January 19th; *Rugantino,* March 21st. There were nine performances of seven plays, four from Kotzebue, one from Shiller and two from Zschokke.

Of Age to Morrow is announced at one time as a Musical Farce and at another as a Musical Entertainment, and no longer as last season as Comic Opera. With the exception of *The Robbers,* in which as usual Wood played Charles de Moor and Mrs. Wood, Amelia, and the new play *Rugantino,* no author is mentioned. In the case of *The Robbers* the German title is given in German letters **Die Räuber.** The interest of the season centered for the most part in "Master Payne" (John Howard Payne), who appeared for the first time on December 6th, as Young Narval in *Douglass,* and in an extended engagement of Cooper. The former appeared among other plays in two German plays, as Frederick in *Lovers' Vows,* December 9th, and as Rolla in *Pizarro,* on December 15th. For his benefit he chose *Romeo and Juliet.* Cooper does not seem to have appeared in any German plays this season, but mostly in Shakespeare plays. The one new German play for this season was *Rugantino; or, The Bravo of Venice,* March 21st, announced as a Romantic Melodrama, taken from the celebrated German novel of that name by G. Lewis.[171] This dramatized version of Zschokke's romance had already appeared in print in Baltimore and Boston in 1809 and now again March, 1810, in New York, D. Longworth. These were all reprints of the London publication of 1805.[172] Its first performance in London was October 18, 1809, at Covent Garden Theatre. It does not seem to have been repeated till the season of 1813-14, at one of the other theatres.

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[171] *Abaellino, der grosse Bandit,* 1794.

[172] Cf. Note 169 for the references from Wilkens.

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I have already referred to the *Mirror of Taste* and *Dramatic Censor.*[173] The first number of this interesting periodical appeared in January, 1810. It was published by Bradford and Innskeep, Philadelphia; Innskeep and Bradford, New York, and William M'Illhenny, Boston; Smith and McKenzie, Printers.[174] Its editor was Stephen Cullen Carpenter, from whose pen are many of the articles contained in it. Stephen Cullen Carpenter was born and educated in Ireland, and after years in the East India Service returned to England with the rank of Major at the commencement of the French Revolution. He then became Reporter of the Debates of the House of Commons and in 1800 came to the United States and was active as an editor of various periodicals. He died July 24, 1830. The purpose and scope of the work may best be seen from a few extracts of the announcement as it appears in the first issue.[175] . . . "This work, therefore, will contain a regular journal of all, worthy of notice, that passes in the theatre of Philadelphia, and an account of each night's performances, accompanied with a critical analysis of the play and after piece, and remarks upon the merits of the actors, . . . a regular account of theatrical transactions from the capital cities of other states." This "Domestic Dramatic Censor" is followed by a "Foreign Dramatic Censor" dealing especially with the theatres of Great Britain. It appeared once a month, two volumes a year, $8.00 per year. "To each number will be added, by way of appendix an entire play or after piece, paged so as to be collected into a separate volume." This was maintained for the first two volumes and then stopped, probably at the suggestion of various correspondents, one of whom gave the pertinent reason that "a large portion of the patrons of your undertaking are in possession of collections of dramatic performances, some of them very extensive. . . ." This throws an interesting sidelight on the extent to which plays were *read* in

[173] Cf. Note 145.

[174] It was transferred in 1811 to Thomas Barton Zantzinger & Company, and the first number of the year 1811 was published at their store, Shakespeare Buildings, South Sixth, near Chestnut Street.

[175] *Mirror of Taste and Dramatic Censor,* Vol. I, p. 7.

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those days. The plays published with the first six numbers were, *Foundling of the Forest,* by Dimond; *Man and Wife,* by Samuel James Arnold; *Venoni; or, Novice of St. Mark's,* by M. G. Lewis; *New Way to Pay Old Debts,* by Ph. Massinger; *Alfonso, King of Castille,* by M. G. Lewis; *The Free Knights; or, The Edict of Charlemagne,* by Fr. Reynolds. The numbers of the second volume included, *The Exile; or, The Russian Daughter,* by F. Reynolds; *Emilia Galotti,* Tragedy in 5 Acts, translated from the German of G. E. Lessing by Miss Fanny Holcroft; *The Bondman,* by Ph. Massinger; *Maid of Honour,* Massinger, and *Fatal Dowry,* founded on Massinger's Comedy, *The City Madam.* The various numbers contain material in the following order, a series of papers on the History of the Stage from ancient times on, parts of which will be referred to later; Biography; Miscellany; Communications; Sports; Music; Dramatic Censor.

Of Age to Morrow, November 20th, is dismissed with the brief remark: "Every character tolerably well played." *Pizarro,* November 22nd, receives a serious discussion. "Although in the attack and defence of *Pizarro* criticism has worn down the edges of its weapons to very dulness, we cannot forbear taking the opportunity of recording our opinions of that extraordinary production.

"No play that has appeared during the last century possesses the power of agitating the passions, and interesting the feelings in an equal degree to *Pizarro.* From a child of the brain of Kotzebue, trained and corrected by Sheridan, much might be expected. And the piece before us is worthy of the talents of such men.

"What is that play in which there is such a mass of virtue and simplicity, and such a number of amiable personages opposed to such a man of villainy, subtlety, fraudful avarice and sensual vice as Pizarro? Not one. The lofty moral sentiments of Rolla, his exquisite feelings and exalted notions as the patriot, the friend, the lover, are unequalled.. He exists out of himself and lives but for others; for his country, his king, his friend and the dearest object of his love, of whom being bereft by that very friend, he becomes their brother—their protector, devotes his life

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to death to save the man, escaping that, devotes it again to save their offspring. Need we say more then of Pizarro than to contrast him with such a character? The only gleam of light that breaks in upon that black Erebus, his heart, is his conduct to Rolla, when the latter throws aside his dagger; and this the poet (Sheridan) has artfully contrived for the purpose of heightening the lustre of such virtue, by showing that even that monster could not be insensible to it. There is exclusive of Rolla's glorious qualities, a massif excellence sufficient to make the character of any two plays and put each out of the reach of competition with any other that we can immediately think of. Such as we have described are the emotions which are always produced by the play now under consideration when it happens to be properly represented.

Fortunately or unfortunately as it may happen, the play is so constructed that almost every part of it contributes largely, according to its kind, to the interest of the piece. We saw it in England and America, but have never yet seen it performed to our perfect satisfaction." [176] This is followed by a discussion of the merits of various actors essaying the leading part. The repertoire of "Master Payne" included two German plays for this season, *Lovers' Vows* and *Pizarro*. In the latter he played Rolla December 15.

Reconciliation, November 29, appears still with the secondary title *Fraternal Discord,* but is Dibdin's comedy in three acts and not Dunlap's drama in five acts. There is but a brief reference to this performance: "It would be superfluous to say anything of a play so well known and so justly admired." [177] *Abaellino, the Great Bandit,* December 1, received the following comment: "*The Great Bandit* is one of those extraordinary productions which distinguish the present dramatic writers of Germany from those of all ages and all countries. There are but few topics connected with the stage which deserve more serious discussion than this of the *German drama.* A proper

[176] *Mirror of Taste,* etc., Vol. I, p. 62.
[177] *Mirror of Taste,* etc., Vol. I, p. 73.

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investigation of it would require more room than we can at present spare." It is promised for a future number and will be referred to later. *Lovers' Vows,* December 9, called forth renewed interest with "Master Payne" in the role of Frederick. His engagement this season included nine plays, ten performances, two of which were the German plays referred to. The other plays were *Douglass,* given twice; *The Mountaineers, Mahomet, Tancred and Sigismunda, Barbarossa* and *Romeo and Juliet.* The *Mirror of Taste* gives on pages 140-161 a long account of him, with comparisons with Cooper and other noted actors of the time. Further on we read: "Of the characters represented by this young gentleman, those in which he has evinced greatest powers are *Douglass, Tancred* and *Romeo,* while that in which he is least exceptionable is Frederick in *Lovers' Vows.* His performance of Frederick was one consistent piece of natural, affecting and indeed skillful acting. In the scenes of filial tenderness with his mother, and in the solemn but spirited remonstrances with the Baron Wildenheim, he displayed such equal excellence that criticism might incur the charge of injustice by giving the preference to either. The character, as Master Payne acted it, was made by him from the two antecedent translations of Mrs. Inchbald and Mr. Thompson; by a union of both of which this youth has produced a better acting play than either. He lately published it in Baltimore with an advertisement prefixed, written by himself, to which we refer our readers with a strong recommendation to them to peruse it." [178] In Payne's own words: "The present copy of *Lovers' Vows* is made up of Thompson's *Frederick and Agatha;* Mrs. Inchbald's *Verdun and Amelia;* while in forming Count Cassel and the Baron, sometimes the former and sometimes the latter version has

[178] *Lovers' Vows,* a play in five acts. Altered from the translations of Mrs. Inchbald and Benjamin Thompson. By J. H. Payne, Baltimore; printed by Geo. Dobbin and Murphy, No. 10, Baltimore Street, 1809. 16°, pp. III-VII, adv. (by J. H. Payne), 9-90. Cf. Also Wilkens, App. 133. A copy may be seen in the *Jackson Collection of American Plays* at the Library of the University of Pennsylvania, referred to in note 162.

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been adopted. In many instances, however, the compiler has taken the liberty to differ from both." A later notice reads: "From some English papers now in our possession we find that the fame of this young gentleman has already reached Europe. Even at this time, the intercourse between the two countries is such that nothing worthy of notice passes in one without being soon known in the other. Wood also refers to Payne in these words: "On my return to the United States, in October, 1909, I found Master Payne in the full tide of popular favor at Baltimore. He appeared as Young Narval (*Douglass*), Hamlet, Romeo, Tancred, Octavian (*Mountaineers*), Frederic (*Lovers' Vows*), Rolla (*Pizarro*), and Zaphna (*Mahomet*)."[179] According to Dunlap his first appearance in New York was February 26, 1809. He was born 1792, went to England in 1812, and made his debut at Drury Lane in 1813. Dunlap, referring to a later period, says: "Mr. Payne has recently returned from Europe. He has visited its continent and contributed to the English and American stage several successful translations from French dramas. How far his dramas *Adeline, Charles Second, Clari,*[180] *Therese, Love in Humble Life* are translations or original we do not know. Many of his plays have been and continue (1832) very popular in England and America." [181]

Plays, some of which have already been referred to as plays showing German influence and others which are suspected to be such, were even better represented this season than last season. We note *Wheel of Fortune, School for Reform, Adrian and Orilla, Adelmorn, Tekeli, Adelgitha* and *Wood Dæmon.* The reference in the *Mirror of Taste* to Dimond's *Wood Dæmon,* February 9, is far from complimentary. "Where will the taste of England stop in its descent? Where will the impositions on

[179] Cf. Wood, p. 127.

[180] *Clari* or *The Maid of Milan,* contains the well-known song "Home, Sweet Home," and will be referred to again in connection with its first presentation in Philadelphia. A copy of this play is also in the *Jackson Collection,* Library of the University of Pennsylvania.

[181] Dunlap, p. 358.

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it by bastard genius end?" [182] Other plays of this nature appearing for the first time this season were James Kenny's *Ella Rosenberg,* Dibdin's *Is he a Prince,* Dimond's *Foundling of the Forest* and James Kenny's *Blind Boy. Ella Rosenberg* is announced as a melodrama in two acts, and some of the characters are The Elector, Colonel Montfort, Rosenberg, Captain Storm, Flutermann, Ella Rosenberg, Christiana and Mrs. Flutermann. It appeared first in Drury Lane Theatre in 1807. It was given this season four times, November 27, December 4, January 17 and February 9. *The Blind Boy* is announced as a melodrama in four acts and as having been received with unbounded applause in London. Sellier says that in 1808 a play, *The Blind Boy,* was played with success in Covent Garden Theatre. The play of this season was not likely the London play and has nothing to do with Dunlap's version of Kotzebue's *Epigram,*[183] which he began in 1802 and put on the New York stage in 1803, first appearance March 30. A French version of Kotzebue's *Epigram* appeared in 1806, with the secondary title *Les dangers de la satire.* The cast as given on January 1 was Stanislaus, King of Sarmatia—Downie; Edmund, his son—Mrs. Wilmot; Rodolph—Master Barret; Oberto—Warren; Kalig, friend to Edmund—Cone; Molino, country boy—Jefferson; Elvina, betrothed to Edmund—Mrs. Wood; Lida, Duchess of Lithuania—Mrs. Jacobs, etc. It was given five times between January 1 and February 28. *Is he a Prince* was an after piece by Dibdin, given for the first time January 6, and shows the following characters: Baron Cracklenburg, Blaffberg, Lindorf, Count Rosenblum, Caroline, Miss Fredonia-Albertina-Wilhelmina Cracklenburg. In this case the German names may not signify any German play, but it may be an original burlesque. The last play of this class to note is *Foundling of the Forest,* a play in three acts by Dimond, given for the first time in Philadelphia, February 14, 1810, and was given in all eleven times during the season, and was the first play published in the *Mirror of Taste.* The characters as given on

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[182] Cf. *Mirror of Taste,* etc., I, pp. 72-73.

[183] *Das Epigram,* Lustspiel in vier Akten. Leipzig, 1801.

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February 14 were Count de Valmont, Baron de Longueville, Florian (a foundling adopted by Valmont), L'Eclair, Gaspard, an old domestic; Sanguine, Le Noire, bravoes in the play; Garaldine, niece to Valmont; Rosabella, Monica, unknown female. The scene of the second act is the Castle Garden and of act three on the banks of the Rhine. The success of the play called forth considerable criticism, although it was mostly unfavorable. The references in the *Mirror of Taste* are of great interest and will be given in full to illustrate a phase of the attitude toward plays with so-called German characteristics.

"Of the quality of this production it would be difficult for criticism to speak candidly without adverting to the present miserable state of dramatic poetry in England, which from the days of Sam Foote has been gradually descending to its present deplorable condition. The body of dramatic writers of the last thirty years first corrupted the public taste and now thrive by that corruption. By hasty sketches, not of nature as she appears in all times and places, but of particular and eccentric manners and characters, the excresences of overloaded society, they have made a short cut to the favor of the public, and inundated the stage with a torrent of ephemeral productions to the depravation of the public taste and in defiance of classical criticism. . . ." [184] And again later: "This production which we have annexed to our first number, not on account of its superior merit, but because it was the most recently published of any that has yet come to our hands, will on the most superficial reading be discerned to be of *true German cast.* The old trick of grouping the characters at the end of the scene, and dropping the curtain upon them, by way of leaving it to the general conception of the audience to guess the rest, as is done in the *Stranger,* and all others of that breed, is here twice put in practice. Those who like such things mixed up with a *quantum sufficit* of horror, and all the hairbreadth escapes, and incidents so forced as to stagger belief, which make up the hotch potch romances whether narra-

[184] *Mirror of Taste,* I, p. 60.

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tive or dramatic of the present day, will like this. A London critic, remarking with just severity upon the strange way in which the *divinity is addressed* in this piece, says: 'This blot defaces almost all the modern things called dramas or plays. In the farcical comedies we have low, vulgar swearing unworthy even the refuse of society, while in the 'comedies larmoyantes' (weeping comedies), and in tragedies we have eternal imprecations of the deity, indicative only of madness in literature." [185] These serious discussions of the drama at this time are so vital to this study that they must be given in full, for, whether favorable or unfavorable to the German plays and their supposed influence, no one will question the interest in German plays indicated by these discussions. They might have been given in a concluding chapter, and there indeed their contents will be referred to with emphasis, but their place is here to complete the setting of the season. In the meantime the theatre season had closed, *The Foundling of the Forest* had met with success and now we read once more: "In our first number we made a few observations on this comedy. They were not very favorable to it; and notwithstanding its great success in representation, we are not at all disposed to retract any of them, because our opinion of the intrinsic value of the piece is not in the least altered. In representation it is all—in the closet nothing. This arises from the conduct of the plot, which indeed constitutes the whole of its merit. In Europe, as in America, the judgment of every critic is at variance with the decision of the multitude upon it, for, while at the Lyceum it has been applauded by 'the million,' it has been lashed by the judicious in various respectable publications.

"The time has been, nor has it long passed by, when that body in the community who decided the fate of every literary performance, far from being contented with *effect* on the stage, condemned it, if it were not produced by an adequate *cause* in nature. To that body the farrago of melodrama, written spectacle, and mysterious agency, would have been objects of ridicule or disapprobation, and the just influence of their opinions upon

[185] *Mirror of Taste*, I, p. 80.

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the public would have driven back the German muse with all her paraphernalia of tempests, castles, dungeons and murderers, to rave on her native ground; except in their proper place (farce or pantomime) they would not have been tolerated. To write only to the passions, to expose human beings to circumstances that can not in the natural course of life occur, and release them by means which outrage all probability, and to these ends to urge vice and virtue beyond all possible bounds, and fabricate extreme characters such as have rarely or never existed, characters either better than saints, or worse than devils, for the mere purpose of producing horror and astonishment, and hanging up the feelings of the multitude on the tenterhooks of fearful suspense and painful apprehension—to violate all the rules prescribed by nature and experience, and place heroes and heroines in situations so far out of the course of human conduct that the poet can not get them out again by rational, feasible means, but is compelled to leave their fate to the guess of the spectators by picturesque grouping and dropping the curtain. What is this but to reverse the very nature of the drama, 'whose end,' says its father Shakespeare, both at the first and now, was and is to 'hold as 'twere the mirror up to *nature,*' to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of time his form and pressure,' . . . and if the alarming and horrific be legitimate objects for a dramatist, Mr. Dimond has succeeded most marvelously. The sorriest critic, however, knows that horror ought not to be produced on the stage. The boundary that separates terror from horror is the lawful limit—the line not to be broken. The *mighty magician of Udolpho,* as the author of the pursuits of literature calls Mrs. Radcliff, with powers almost beyond human, infused into the British public a taste for the horrible which has not yet been palled by the nauseous draughts of it, poured forth by her impotent successors. . . . Every season brings forth a new proof that that taste, so far from being extinguished, has grown to an appetite canine and ravenous which devours with indiscriminating greediness the elegant eats of the sumptuous board and the offal of the shambles; provided only that they have suffi-

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cient of the *German haut-gout* of the marvelous and horrible." [186] In the extract just quoted the taste for the horrible is in the same breath traced to Mrs. Radcliff and to the German plays. Another writer traces another phase of the corruption of public taste in dramatic literature to "the intemperate use of German dramas." In the latter case we have an interesting rejoinder, showing a different view of the matter.

"A general sense seems to pervade all the most intelligent men of Great Britain that a reformation is wanting in almost every department of life in that country. The corruption of public taste in dramatic literature and acting, cries aloud for a high-handed scourge and receives it. Among other things the musico-mania is attacked as having reached the highest acme of absurdity. . . . The fact is that the robust and vigorous appetite of the English has been worn down by the *intemperate use of the German dramas,* and is so vitiated and enfeebled that it can swallow nothing but hot-spiced truth, or water gruel spoon meat. Are the French wrong in calling John Bull 'stupide-barbare' when they see him pouring thousands into the laps of foreign singers, and for what? Why, to such songs as this:

> Tom Gobble was a grocer's son
> Heigho! says Gobble.
> He gave a venison dinner for fun
> And he had a belly as big as a ton,
> With his handy dandy, bacon and gravy,
> Ah, hah, says Alderman Gobble.

This vile, low, degrading farrago is taken from an opera called the *Russian Imposter,* or *Siege of Sloremskho.* After such trash it will be delightful to turn to some lines written by Lord Byron on this subject." [187] Here follow the lines already quoted in the discussion of the season 1801-1802, in connection with the remarks of authors being "misled by the lights of erring

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[186] *Mirror of Taste,* I, p. 345.
[187] *Mirror of Taste,* I, p. 97.

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taste, the German meteors, from the gay walk of Farquhar and Congreve to the cypress shade of Cumberland and Kotzebue." And now *audiat et altera pars*:

"It has for a considerable time been fashionable to declaim against the theatrical performances translated *from the German.* They are pretty generally charged with having corrupted the English dramatic taste, and been the means of introducing the ribaldry and nonsense which, particularly in the form of songs, have so frequently appeared of late, and disgraced the London audiences, who contenanced such trash. This charge is more than insinuated in the first number of this miscellany, page 97, and by way of illustration, the sublime, refined and admirable song of *Adlerman Gobble* is introduced.

On this point I hold an opinion diametrically opposite and hope to convince the reader that the allegations against the German writers are entirely groundless. In no German play that I have ever seen is there to be found anything of this species. The true character of the German theatre is the very antipodes to this. Strong, bold sentiments—incidents numerous and interesting—a dramatis personae of the boldest and most finished kind—and in fact everything that can command the most marked and pointed attention of the reader or spectator. And all this notwithstanding the disadvantages of appearing in foreign dress; for it hardly need be stated how wretchedly many of the translations have been executed.

That many of the German plays are highly exceptionable in their tendency is equally lamentable, as it is undesirable. And when they are adapted for representation here, they ought to be altered and modified to suit the taste, the manners and the state of society in this country. I allude to *The Stranger, Lovers' Vows* and others of this cast.

But the depravation of taste, of which such loud complaints are now made, and which is so freely charged to the account of the German theatres, existed on the London stage before any of the German plays were translated. *The Stranger* was among the earliest of them; the first appearance was in the year 1798. It is absolutely certain that not one of them was acted previous

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to the year 1788, as *Egerton's Theatrical Remembrancer,* published in that year, and containing a *complete list* of all dramatic performances in the English language, makes no mention of them. If I prove that this depraved taste existed anterior to 1788 it finally decides the question. . . .

These vile songs may be fairly traced to O'Keefe. His motley productions contained many of them and paved the way for the deluge of those that has since followed. . . . The *Castle of Andalusia* was performed in 1782 and contains a song which fully proves my position, "Galloping Dreary Dan." [188] . . . It is of interest to note that the Chestnut Street Theatre opened in 1794 with this play. Right in line with this discussion are some remarks by Dunlap: English dramatists have for ages translated from the Continental languages and given no credit to the original authors. At the time Kotzebue brought the German school into fashion, the playwrights employed to measure out dialogue and pantomime for the London theatres were superseded by the *honest, homely translations of German plays;* the *Thomsons* and *Plumtrees.* They took the alarm and all joined in crying down the *German* drama; the hired journalists followed in the hue and cry, and John Bull was convinced that nothing could be so absurd as the *exhibitions he had been weeping over* or had received with shouts of applause and peals of laughter. This done, the cunning manufacturers for the theatres had the poor Germans at their mercy; and for years *whole scenes and whole plots* were given to admiring audiences as English *every inch* and filled with *true British* patriotism, *although they were stolen* from these very Dutchmen the plagiarists had decried by sound of trumpet.[189]

Other plays to note for this season were: *The African,* play in three acts, by J. Coleman, April 18 and 19; *The Caravan,* or *the Driver and His Dog,* serio-comic romance, by Reynolds, March 23 and 26; *Count of Narbonne,* drama, by Jephson, from the mysterious romance *Castle of Otranto,* by Horace Walpole,

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[188] *Mirror of Taste,* I, p. 251.

[189] Dunlap, p. 196.

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March 27. *Forty Thieves* continued popular. *Man and Wife,* comedy in five acts, by Samuel J. Arnold, March 14, was one of the plays published in the *Mirror of Taste. Mother Goose,* pantomimic operatic romance, was performed for the first time in America February 5, followed by four more performances. Besides these we note *Gustavus Vasa,* March 4, Mr. Wood playing Gustavus, and *Tancred and Sigismunda,* December 18, French plays, or plays of French origin, were *Child of Nature,* March 26; *Follies of a Day,* February 12, and *Lodoiska,* romantic drama in three acts, for the first time in Philadelphia. To these must be added *Don Juan,* tragic pantomime, December 2, of which the *Mirror of Taste* says: "No play ever made so deep and so universal an impression as *Don Juan.* The merit of the original belongs to Molière. Averse on principle to the play we have often felt ourselves indebted to it for relief from the modern play."

Shakespeare was represented by the following: *Catharine and Petrucchio, Hamlet, Henry IV, Julius Cæsar, Macbeth, Merry Wives of Windsor, Othello, Richard III, Romeo and Juliet,* nine plays, twelve performances in all.

The publications of German plays listed for 1910 are Lessing's *Emilia Galotti,* Bradford and Innskeep, Philadelphia, the same as mentioned above as appearing in the *Mirror of Taste* and taken from the Theatrical Recorder, Vol. I, London, 1805. *Rinaldo Rinaldini,* or *the Great Banditti,* a dramatized version of Vulpius' Rinaldo Rinaldini, by an American and citizen of New York, characterized by Wilkens as a servile adaptation from: *The History of Rinaldo Rinaldini, Captain of Banditti.* Translated from the German of Vulpius. By J. Hinckley, Esq., London, 1800; *Rugantino,* or *the Bravo of Venice,* a dramatized version of Zschokke's *Abaellino* referred to above.[190] The *Portfolio* and other magazines of Philadelphia show no discussions of any of the plays of this season, but we note as a matter of indirect interest in the *Portfolio* a review of Sotheby's translation of Wieland's *Oberon,* also a shorter review of the same

[190] Cf. Wilkens, App. 144 and 146.

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with a biographical sketch of Wieland in the *Boston Review* as well as the announcement of *The Village Pastor and His Children* (Aus dem Leben eines armen Landpredigers). From the German of Augustus La Fontaine, New York, D. Longworth, 1910. In the same magazine see also an announcement of Goethe's *Wahlverwandschaften* and the *Nibelungenlied.*[191]

No plays appear to have been given at the Old Theatre and none appeared at the Olympic (Walnut Street) before 1812.

Eighteenth Season, Chestnut Street Theatre, November 26, 1810, to April 30, 1811.

The German plays for this season were *Pizarro,* December 21 and January 30; *Of Age to Morrow,* December 22 and April 8; *The Stranger,* January 4 and February 23; *The Robbers,* February 15 and April 24; *Abaellino,* February 22 and 23, and *Reconciliation,* March 18. There were eleven performances of six plays, four from Kotzebue and one each from Schiller and Zschokke. No new play of German origin appeared this season.

Wood speaks of this season as unexampled and in proof gives the proceeds of a number of plays. "We opened with *Way to Get Married,* $782; Mrs. Twait's first appearance as Lady Macbeth with Wood for the first time as Macbeth, $1334; *Foundling of the Forest,* $814; Mrs. Beaumont acted fourteen nights at an average of $750; Fennel commenced with *Lear,* $1348, and completed thirteen nights to $730 per night; Christmas night brought $1412 and New Year's night, $1449; Mr. Galbraith made a very successful first appearance as Zanga in *The Revenge* to $1226 and in Charles de Moor to $846. Mr. Beaumont also appeared for a few nights as Rolla, Octavius Stranger, etc." Beside the Beaumonts, Fennel, Cooper and Cooke made the season a memorable one, Shakespeare and some of the older English comedies prevailing more than during previous seasons. In *Pizarro,* December 21, Beaumont played Rolla, and

[191] Cf. Goodnight, pp. 120, 177-189, for these and other interesting references.

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on January 30 Fennel for his last night chose the same role. *The Stranger,* January 4, is announced as the celebrated comedy in five acts, translated from the German of Kotzebue by Benjamin Thompson from the original and genuine copy as performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, upwards of one hundred and twenty nights. On February 23 Wood appeared in *The Stranger* for the first time. In *The Robbers,* February 15, Wood played Charles de Moor, and April 24 Galbraith, as mentioned above. *Abaellino,* February 22, was chosen by Cone as a benefit night, and it was repeated the next night with *The Stranger,* two German plays the same night.

The *Mirror of Taste* at this time does not discuss the German plays, nor, in fact, any of the plays as performed this season, but merely names them with the dates, with only a casual remark here and there, such as: "It is not possible to follow up all the English pieces, many of which are adapted from the German or the French." The extent to which leading actors chose roles of German plays is shown in an account of John Hodgkinson and the American theatre appearing this year in the *Mirror of Taste.* John Hodgkinson was born in 1765, came to America in 1792, and died a victim of the yellow fever in 1805. After the retirement of Dunlap he became the sole manager of the New York theatre. Among his leading roles are mentioned Rolla, Gustavus Vasa, Don Carlos, Charles de Moor, Stranger, Abaellino and Rinaldo, and of some of these the *Mirror of Taste* says: "When he played Jaffier, Romeo, Flodoardo, the eyes of the actor were no less eloquent than the language of the poet . . . yet it was in the parts we allude to, as being most suitable to him, he thought himself unrivalled . . . his Charles de Moor, his Flodoardo or his Osmond were almost beyond praise; in these he has not had a competitor, but his *chef-d'œuvre* was certainly Captain Bertram in *Fraternal Discord* . . . on the other hand he fell short of his general level in the *Stranger* . . . etc."

The most serious criticism of any German play appeared in the *Portfolio* of 1812, namely, *The Robbers.* The repetition

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of this play from season to season, and sometimes twice a season, and the fact that every great tragedian, whether a member of the Philadelphia company or a visitor, included it in his repertoire, shows what a hold it had and what an effect it must have produced in spite of its extravagancies and the severest kind of criticism. It seems a pity that Schiller was known in those days only as the author of *The Robbers* and some of his other plays were not produced, but this question will be considered in the concluding chapter. The criticism in the *Portfolio* may speak for itself.

"Some have contended that the tragedy of *The Robbers* was written to expose the dangerous principle of fatalism, but whatever its object we are clearly of opinion that the Deity is not a subject proper for theatrical address. Charles is made the victim of fraternal treachery and intrigue; abandoned by his father and chosen commander of a band of outlaws and banditti. Francis, the younger son, having removed this obstacle to his aggrandizement, next removes his father and seizes on his inheritance. In the meantime Charles relieves his father from a dungeon, detects the deep laid conspiracy, and takes revenge on Francis, the agent of all his misfortunes. Now prosperity, the smiles of his Amelia, and the reconciliation of his father await to reward him; but it seems he is bound by his oath never to forsake his banditti, and this we presume is the fatalism to which he so often alludes. In dispair he murders Amelia and surrenders himself to justice. What merit there is either in the plot or execution of this tragedy, to extort so large a portion of popular respect, it is beyond our power to imagine. The language is replete with all the extravagance of the German school, and the sentiments are an outrage upon nature and common sense. Cordially do we concur in the opinion Charles expresses of himself: "Poor fool! O shame; hast thou then presumptuously dared to wield Jove's thunder, and with thy aimless arm, to let the Titan scape, while the poor pigmy suffers? go slave! 'tis not for thee to wield the sword of the most high. Here let me renounce the rash design; let me seek some cavern of the earth to hide my shame from the eye of day." These were sentiments that did honor to his character and prove

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how just an estimate we may sometimes form of our own merits.

The following is a specimen of the German sublime, and we have no doubt that those who admire the sublimity will commend likewise the piety of the passage. Charles is now imprecating vengeance on Francis: "Here in the face of Heaven I curse him. . . . May nature curse me, expel me like some horrible abortion from out the circle of her works, if here upon this stone I do not shed that parricide's blood, till the foul vapour from the fountain of his heart rise into air and dim the blessed sun." The happy conceit of dimming the sun by this newly discovered species of vapour, is a pledge given, so easily performed, that the penalty invoked is no doubt perfectly harmless and inoffensive. The sublimity of this passage is resolved by the millstone ponderosity of the following one. The father says to Francis, "Go—may God forgive you!—I have forgiven!" Charles exclaims, "And may my curse accompany that prayer and clog it with a millstone's weight, that it may never reach the mercy seat of Heaven." How wonderfully pathetic is the dying speech of Amelia. . . . How admirable was the expedient resolved by Charles, to purify the guilt of his fellow robbers and assassins by assuming the whole to himself! Taking Switzer by the hand he exclaims, "These hands I have imbrued deep with blood—that be mine offence: not thine—here, with this grasp, I take what is mine own." . . . But these passages, abounding in nonsense and impiety as they do, are nothing in comparison to others. The following imprecation of Charles on his brother Francis is a specimen: "O Judge of heaven and earth, hear a murderer's prayer! . . ." Charles when he is about to pronounce sentence on his brother Francis utters this pompous blasphemy, "I stand commissioned here as a minister of heaven's Almighty king." . . . What is this but to call that pure and holy being, whom Christians worship, the God of thieves, murderers and assassins. . . .

Fatalism is said to be the principle, the folly of which the author of this tragedy labors to expose. Charles is admitted to be a thief, a murderer and assassin. Now to overcome the strong disgust excited by the disclosure of such qualities, there must be

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some counter-poising properties, he is therefore brave, intrepid and generous; abounding in filial sensibility; kind and compassionate to romantic excess. We are led to wonder how, under the pressure of adverse incident, characters so contrarient can be united in one person. This the author ascribes to fatalism, and represents his hero as obeying what he conceives to be the mandate of heaven. Charles, however, when it answers his purpose does not seem so pertinaceously attached to fatalism as his defenders contend. . . .

It requires uncommon charity to believe that it was the object of the author to expose the pernicious nature of fatalism. Fatalism appears subordinate to other purposes; it is introduced to make the character of Charles consistent and to give an air of probability to his actions, and palliation to his sins. . . . Robbery and murder, therefore, are not introduced to bring reproach upon fatalism; but fatalism is introduced to sanction robbery and murder. This is the artifice of the German drama: the most abominable of all actions are always done from the best of motives. Let us see in what language this pious, delicate and sentimental robber will speak of his Creator. . . . With such ingenuity in the character of Charles compounded—human laws are represented as frail and incapable of punishing the guilty.

Some latitude is always to be allowed in the indulgence of every amusement; but it is not demanding too great a sacrifice that no play should have an *immoral tendency*. The obligations imposed both by the laws of our country and our religion, and the awful penalties annexed to the violation of both, are found inadequate securities to prevent the perpetration of vice. This would lead us to believe that whatever aid genius could give would be cheerfully given to the support of such salutory precepts. For our mutual tranquility and quiet, if not from higher motives, we might expect a confederacy among men of letters, divines and magistrates for the repression of vice; but it is a lamentable fact that no such confederacy exists. The tragedy of which we have been speaking is a proof, both of the necessity of such a union and that no such union exists. . . . Is

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it too much to expect of a public writer, when he handles subjects of this nature, that he would contribute all the aid of his talents to enforce a principle so indispensable and so just? Yet the author of this tragedy acts in professed violation of this maxim, and as an evidence of his sincerity he is constantly invoking the propitious regards of his Maker. . . . Suppose that a character like Charles brought before the bar of justice to answer for his deeds, where is the law on which we shall found his condemnation? . . . Charles does discover and that often, too, compunction and remorse. This was done by the author for the purpose of soothing our resentment and to excite compassion for his character. This we contend, so far from palliating, is an high aggravation of the blasphemy he utters. . . . Does this writer mean to assert man is more wise, more just, and has a clearer perception of good and evil, than the being who created him? This I am unwilling to suppose to have been his sentiments, but they inevitably flow from the character he has drawn. The plain fact is that the author, shocked at the outline of the character, wished to soften it down to our liking. Charles, it is true, must commit abominable deeds; but it will undoubtedly palliate abhorrence if he is sensible of such enormity. What apology is there left for his actions? Fatalism? forsooth! a conviction that whatever he does the Diety enjoins. We can but congratulate the wonderful ingenuity of this author that he has attempted to rescue the character of his hero from reproach at the expense of his Maker! And after all, what is this wonderful fatalism by which Charles is bound so peremptory and indissoluble? It is contained in the magic of the following words. Charles: "And now by this man's right hand I swear to your faithful commander till death. Now by my soul I will make a corpse of him who first shows fear among you; and when I break my oath, be such my fate from you! Are you agreed?" "All—we are all agreed." It is evident this was the spell; for when he relents and sinks into the arms of his Amelia, one of his honorable fraternity thus expresses himself: "Didst thou not lift that hand to heaven and swear—swear never to forsake us—never to desert those who had been thus true to thee?" Charles replies: " 'Tis done—I fain

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would have gone back; but he who rules in heaven has said, no . . ." An obligation entered into, to commit robbery and murder amongst thieves and outlaws, he is both willing and anxious to retract, as his own conscience dictates; but he is it seems, compelled by heaven to the performance of it, and as a test of his fidelity he murders his Amelia. We are inclined shrewdly to suspect that this said Charles, this hero, lover, theologian, robber, sentimentalist, thief, murderer, or by whatever name he may be called, amidst such a jumble of opposite perfections, never studied the common law of England, or the common law of morality . . . (here follow a number of court cases to show that illegal obligations are not binding in law). Knowledge of this kind, if it had been seasonably imparted, if Charles had consulted counsel, as in propriety he ought to have done, would have saved him and Destiny much trouble, his father many tears, and to Amelia a husband, who would have given her evidence of affection not quite so equivocal as the poinard of an assassin. It is true, Charles seems to have an instinctive antipathy to a court, whom he denominates "poor ministers of earthly justice"; in opposition to his heavenly justice. This may account for his ignorance of the common law, and the indispensable necessity there was that this hero must be free in order to be great, and to murder the unoffending Amelia."[192]

Of plays which may be classified as possible or partial German plays we note *Adelgitha,* December 1; *Adrian and Orilla,* December 10 and March 13; *Doubtful Son,* or *Secrets of a Palace,* March 13; *Ella Rosenberg,* December 12 and February 15, and *Wheel of Fortune,* February 25, seven performances of five different plays. *The Doubtful Son,* by Dimond, author of *Hero of the North, Hunter of the Alps, Adrian and Orilla, Foundling of the Forest,* etc., was played for the first time this season. Of it the *Mirror of Taste* says: "Respecting the merits of this composition criticism is reduced to the same state of unwilling acquiescence in the prevailing taste of the times it is so often called upon to exercise in giving judgment upon most

[192] *Portfolio,* New Series, VI; 1831.

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of the productions of fancy, whether novel, romance or drama, which now inundate Great Britain. All that can be said in favor of this whole class of compositions is that the authors write and make money by them; that the people are pleased to receive them and that the critic must take them as they come, whether he will or no." [198]

Other plays to note for this season are *Budget of Blunders, Gustavus Vasa,* Dunlap's *Roman Father* and *Pilgrim* or *Love's Perils,* for the first time in Philadelphia by Garrick, with additions by Dryden and Kemble; *The Gamester* and *Blue Beard.* Of French origin we note *Child of Nature, Distressed Mother, Don Juan, La Forêt Noir,* or *The Natural Son, Richard Cœur de Lion,* historical musical drama in three acts from French of M. Sedaine by Mr. Linley, Drury Lane, March 1; also *Tale of Terror,* dramatic romance from Molière's play, *The Feast of the Statue,* by Henry Siddons.

Shakespeare is represented by *Catharine and Petrucchio, Coriolanus, Hamlet, Henry IV,* Part I; *King Lear,* four performances; *Macbeth,* two performances; *Merchant of Venice,* two performances; *Othello,* four performances; *Richard III,* five performances; *Romeo and Juliet,* ten different plays and twenty-two performances. This large number of Shakespeare plays was due to the visiting actors Fennel, Cooper and Cooke, especially the latter, in whom the *Mirror of Taste* glories and to whom it devotes itself.

At the Old Theatre on South Street the circus under the management of Pepin and Brashard continued during the winter, and the announcements include Manfredi and family, Cayetano, with rope dancing, pantomime and dances. But from June 12 to August 14 a theatre was occupied by a regular theatre company under the name of the Apollo Theatre. It is described as situated near the back of the Old Play House and was announced to open with new scenery, etc. There were forty-three plays, and forty-nine performances in all, consisting for the most part of well known and other plays, with nothing new to

[198] *Mirror of Taste,* 1811, p. 55.

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note. One German play is found among them, namely, *Lovers' Vows,* June 21. The cast shows the following actors: Baron Wildenheim—Mr. Cross; Count Cassel—Mr. Webster; Anhalt—Mr. Lindsley; Verdun—Mr. Anderson; Frederick—Mr. Morgan; Anna Wildenheim—Mrs. Williams; Agatha—Mrs. Bray; a cottager's wife—Mrs. Morris; country girl—Miss Roberts; maid—Mrs. Sweet.

This makes for the season for all the theatres twelve performances of seven different German plays.

Wilkens lists no publications of plays for 1811, but we may note a New York publication of one of Kotzebue's novels, *Zaida; or the Dethronement of Mohammed IV,* a novel founded on historic facts, translated from the German of Augustus von Kotzebue. To which is added, *The Beautiful Unknown,* a dramatic history by the same author, by Charles Smith.[194] Outside of the criticism of Schiller's *Robbers* in the *Portfolio* already cited above no other references are noted in the magazines of Philadelphia.[195]

Ninetecnth Season, Chestnut Street Theatre, September 9, 1811, to March 14, 1812.

The German plays for this season were: *Of Age to Morrow,* September 9 and February 29; *Pizarro,* September 13, November 1 and December 18; *Lovers' Vows,* September 16; *Stranger,* September 30 and December 7; *The Robbers,* January 4; *Abaellino,* October 9 and January 22. There were in all this season at the Chestnut Street Theatre eleven performances of six different plays, four from Kotzebue, one from Schiller and one from Zschokke, the same as last season, except that *Lovers' Vows* appears in place of *Reconciliation.* In the season from 1805 to 1810 we have noted only seven or eight performances of German plays, a decrease as compared with the earlier sea-

[194] Cf. Wilkens, App. 150, and also 98.

[195] For notices of Goethe's *Elective Affinities* and Sotheby's translation of *Wieland's Oberon* and other interesting notices, cf., Goodnight, 190 to 204; pp. 121, 122.

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sons, and with last season begins a gradual increase which reaches its height in the season 1813-1814. But just during these seasons of fewer performances the interest in German plays was livelier, as manifested in the periodicals still existent. The increase in number is partly due to an additional theatre, namely, the Walnut Street Theatre, known at this time as the Olympic.

Apparently, at least judging from the number and variety of plays and the continued visits of noted actors, this season would be considered as prosperous, as the last one but Wood draws a different picture, saying: "There were various causes which combined to render the season of 1811 which now followed, particularly disastrous and unproductive. An extreme commercial depression at this time prevailed, chiefly occasioned by the threatening aspect of our relations with England, which in a few months resulted in declaration of war, and an excited state of public feeling, always unfavorable to the success of theatrical representations. Then came the destruction of the Richmond Theatre, with its dreadful consequences. This awful event would alone have arrested for a season the current of the best fortune. It seemed to create a perfect panic, which deterred the largest portion of the audience for a long time from venturing into a crowd, either theatrical or other. But the striking incident of the season at Philadelphia arose from the McKenzie riots. On the day previous to a performance fixed, when our bills announced Mr. McKenzie as Mordent and Mr. Dwyer as Cheverel, a counter announcement was circulated of Mr. McKenzie's first appearance at the Walnut Street House to be opened that night." [196]

Of Age to Morrow, September 9, is announced as a comic opera in two acts, translated from German *Der Wildfang,* and on February 29 as a favorite musical farce. In *Pizarro,* September 13, McKenzie played Pizarro; Wood, Rolla, and Mrs. Wood, Cora. Mr. Cooper chose this same play for his benefit, November 1, the second play for the evening being *Ella Rosen-*

[196] Cf. Wood, *Recollections,* etc., p. 144.

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berg. Payne also had an engagement of eight nights this season and appeared as Rolla on December 18. In *Lovers' Vows* a new actor of the Haymarket Theatre, London, played Frederick, and the *Mirror of Taste* has the short notice: "The novelty of this evening was a young actor of the name of Spiller in the character of Frederick." Spiller is then discussed, but not the play. *The Stranger* saw two performances, September 30 and December 7. It was the Thompson version from the original and genuine copy as performed at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. On September 30 Wood played *The Stranger* and on December 7 McCleary. *Abaellino* maintained its popularity and was given October 9, Wood playing Flodoardo-Abaellino, and January 22 Cooper in the leading role. A special effort was made on October 9 to make it attractive, for there is announced in act 5 a Grand Gala in the Palace of the Doge of Venice, in which will be introduced a concerto on the violin by Mr. Gillingham. On January 12 *The Robbers* is announced for the only time this season, with Wood as "Charles de Moor" and Galbraith as "Francis." The second play for the evening was *Ella Rosenberg,* by James Kenny.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Adelgitha,* October 11; *Blind Boy,* March 9; *Ella Rosenberg,* October 25, November 1, 4 and March 4; *Fortress,* March 11; *Foundling of the Forest,* September 18, December 30 and February 8; *Hunter of the Alps,* November 4; Dimond's *Hero of the North,* February 18, and Cumberland's *Wheel of Fortune.*

Other plays to note were: *The Bridal Ring,* by Reynolds, for the first time in America; *Lady of the Lake,* January 1, 1812, dramatic romance by John Edmond Eyre, from the much admired poem of that name by Walter Scott, for the first time in America. It was a favorite of the season and saw seven performances. *Oscar and Melvina,* or *the Hall of Fingall,* grand heroic pantomime, taken from Ossian, October 2; *Peasant Boy,* tragedy in five acts by Dimond, for the first time in America, March 14; *Feudal Times,* by Coleman, for the first time in Philadelphia, and

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Raymond and Agnes, or *the Bleeding Nun,* grand pantomime spectacle. No new plays of French origin are to be noted. *Child of Nature, Distressed Mother* and *Don Juan* appear as usual.

Shakespeare is represented by *Catharine and Petrucchio,* two performances; *Hamlet,* three times; *Henry IV; King John,* two performances; *King Lear,* two performances; *Macbeth,* three times; *Merchant of Venice,* three times; *Merry Wives of Windsor; Much Ado About Nothing; Othello,* two performances; *Richard III,* four times; *Romeo and Juliet,* three times; *Tempest,* two performances; twenty-nine performances of thirteen plays. The revival of Shakespeare begun last season was due to visiting actors, this season, Cooper, Cooke, Dwyer and Payne.

I found no announcements from the Old Theatre this season except occasional references to miscellaneous entertainments such as Optical Illusions, etc. There are various indications of trouble, as we can see from the reference cited from Wood, and in 1811 a notice appeared announcing a postponement "owing to the caprice of Mr. and Mrs. Wilmot, who refused to play, alleging it would be a disgrace to their talents to appear before such an audience as was there assembled." With this season another theatre early enters the field to share the patronage and becomes gradually a serious competitor of the Chestnut Street house. This is the Walnut Street Theatre, at this time known as the Olympic. Wood's reference to announcements of McKenzie's appearance at both houses the same night, namely, October 12, 1811, indicates that plays were given in 1811, but I found no plays earlier than January 1, 1812, when the following notice appeared: "The public are respectfully informed that the Olympic Theatre (late circus), being now finished in a style of elegance never before equalled on the continent of America, will open on the evening of January 1 with a great display of horsemanship, after which the celebrated comedy of *The Rivals.* The following actors appear in the announcements: Tyler (New York Theatre), Dwyer, McKenzie, Smalley (Covent Garden, London), Webster, Fisher (Charleston Theatre), Wilmot, Thornton, Wilkie, Southey, Miss Wilmot, Miss Brebston, Mrs. Wilmot, Mrs. Bray, Mrs. Thornton, the Jacobs and Mestayers

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and Master Howslow. The performances took place on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, and after the end of the Chestnut Street Theatre season, March 13, on Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays. The season lasted from January 1, 1812, to May 15, to be followed by a short summer season from June 29 to July 17. The German plays for this season were: *Abaellino,* March 12, McKenzie in the leading role, Mrs. Wilmot as Rosamunda; *Lovers' Vows,* March 16, Mr. Dwyer as Frederick, and *La Perouse,* April 10, 20 and 27, as a grand pantomime, "got up under the direction of Mr. Smalley, with entire new scenery, dresses and decorations and the original music as performed at Covent Garden Theatre." The plays of possible or partial German origin were *Adelgitha,* March 12; *Adrian and Orilla,* March 18, and *Foundling of the Forest,* March 10.

Other plays to note were *Battle of Lodi,* or *Osway and Lilla,* pantomime; *Black Beard, the Pirate,* nautical pantomime; *Days of Chivalry,* or grand carousal, tournaments, combats on horseback, and the pantomimes *Obi* and *Don Quixote; Exile* by Fr. Reynolds, founded on the novel *Exiles of Siberia,* by Mme. Cotten. French plays are represented by *Don Juan, Escape of Adelina, or The Robbers of the Pyrenees,* a grand serio-comic pantomime from the Olympic Theatre, Paris, four hundred nights; *La Fille Hussar,* grand equestrian pantomime from Paris, two hundred nights. The cast shows the following characters: Walker (a Swedish sergeant), General Switzer, Prince Tresmandorf, Old Frederick, Julia (La Fille Hussar), the general's daughter. *Guerre Ouverte,* or *Ruse contre Ruse,* a comedy from the French; *Impatient Lover,* comedy, for the first time in America, from the French by a gentleman of this city; *Telemachus on the Island of Calypso,* from the French of Fenelon. Shakespeare is represented by *As You Like It; Richard III,* two performances; *Romeo and Juliet,* and *Winter's Tale,* five performances.

Summary for the season 1811-1812 for all the theatres: German plays, sixteen performances of seven different plays;

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plays of possible German origin, sixteen performances of ten different plays; Shakespeare, thirty-four performances of fifteen different plays.

Announcements of various gardens become more regular during this season. Philadelphia Garden, Race, between Ninth and Tenth, on Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays, Grand Italian Band, Jos. Letorno. Admission on days of music, 12½ cents, which is returnable in refreshments. Astolfi & Company announce the appearance of the Manfredi Company at their Columbia Garden, 461 Market Street. Admission, 25 cents, half of which is returned in refreshments. Besides music and the lighter entertainment usual at such places there were pantomimes and farces, but no definite announcements appear.

Wilkens gives no publication for the year 1812. No plays are discussed or referred to in the Philadelphia magazines outside the *Mirror of Taste*. *The Polyanthos,* of Boston, has several references to performances at the Boston Theatre of several of Kotzebue's plays, *Pizarro, Lovers' Vows* and *La Peyrouse.*[197] In an announcement in the *Aurora,* January 29, 1812, a sale of a stock of books is announced, and in the list we find one hundred copies of Gessner's *Idylls.*

Wood speaks of the very great interest in German plays during the season of 1813-1814, but this greater interest seems to have manifested itself even earlier, for, while the *Mirror of Taste* did not devote much space to the actual performances at the theatre, the editor thought it worth while to give the promised serious discussion of the German drama. The first reference of this kind is *The Life of Lessing,* author of Emilia Galotti, a tragedy, which was one of the plays given by the *Mirror of Taste.* "It appears to be the prevailing doctrine among the best critics in Germany that Lessing is justly esteemed the greatest of their dramatic authors. Whether he has been lately rivalled by Goethe, Schiller or Kotzebue will be a subject more likely to be justly decided when those authors are no longer

[197] For these references and many other interesting ones on German literary matters, cf. Goodnight, 205 to 224, pp. 122, 123.

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living.[198] The name of Kotzebue particularly has, by the Germans themselves, been eminently treated with disrespect, while his works have been translated into all the languages of civilized Europe; and, in several instances, they have been everywhere, not merely well, but rapturously received." Then follows the *Life of Lessing,* taken chiefly from C. F. R. Vetterlein, *Handbuch der poetischen Litteratur der Deutschen.* And later under the *History of the Stage* heading *German Theatre:* "Were it necessary to adhere to strict chronological order in the arrangement of this article, it would be difficult to determine whether the French or the German theatre had a right to precedence. The German drama, however, has of late excited so much interest that it seems to me rather a claim to preference, more particularly as its title to notice commenced at so very late a period. . . . For some time indeed the French theatre had no advantage of the German, either in the number of genius of its authors, and the two might be said to travel together in an equal pace. Corneille and Molière, however, first gave a turn to the scales and the weight of Racine and Voltaire completely gave the ascendant to the former." He then reviews Gottsched's efforts, speaks of German opera giving way to Italian, of the Danish Theatre, the Dutch Theatre in Amsterdam, and so on to the Weimar, Berlin, Leipzig and Hamburg theatres. Of the latter, where the best actors were invited and Loewe gave public lessons on the art of pantomime, he says: "This great undertaking generated a spirit of national emulation, contributed to encourage and advance the drama; and, what was of much greater consequence as a national consideration, to overcome that aversion which most of the great entertained for productions in the German language." He continues then to speak of Lessing coming to Hamburg and of his *'Dramaturgie de Hamburg.'* "Lessing labored to cure the rage of the German writers for servile imitation of foreign productions. He was particularly desirous that they should truly feel how far the rules laid down by the ancients,

[198] This was written in 1811. Including Schiller still among the living is no doubt an inadvertance due to the grouping.

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and particularly by Aristotle, were practicable—rules which his genius informed him were by some too much insisted upon, and by others too little. In 1768 the Hamburg enterprise failed and the company were reduced to the general fate of German actors, that of wandering from town to town; or, as it is called in England, strolling." Weisse is then discussed and "Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm* is the best comedy in the German language. It is of the grave and sentimental kind of comedy, in which the characters carry on a war of generosity, from which the embarrassments and implications of the plot, not very intricate or artificial ones, result. What the witty Henry Fielding says, when comparing a shallow man to a shallow book, may be said with some justice of the characters of the German drama in general—'They may be easily seen through.' Yet notwithstanding these defects, and the want of *vis comica,* from which the nature and situation of the particular characters almost of necessity preclude it, the play is pleasing and interesting to every reader. There is in the constitution of the human mind something so congenial to generosity, disinterestedness and magnanimity, that characters founded on these qualities can scarcely fail to interest and please the majority of mankind, however contradictory to nature they may be, or however critical discernment may condemn them. Much of the art of the German dramatists will be found, on consideration, to rest on the management of this part; not but there are occasional flows of comic humor in some of them of which the severity of criticism must speak with praise.

Lessing's tragedy *Emilie de Galotti* constitutes an epoch in the German drama. It is not our business here to contest with the German critics the correctness of their doctrine that Lessing is the greatest of their dramatic poets, or that *Emilie de Galotti* is the best of their tragedies, or whether Goethe, Schiller or Kotzebue are his equals, superiors or inferiors; but we are persuaded that those who shall read, or rather who shall study *Emilie,* allowing for the difference of genius which pervades each nation, and the kind of drama which must necessarily result, will render justice to this tragedy. Yet in this play may be discovered

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the disadvantage of overstrained attachment to the Aristotelian rules, and all the old fanaticism about the unities. Lessing formed himself too scrupulously upon the model of the ancients and wished to bring the German drama to a perfect conformity with it. The fable of *Emilie* therefore, as well as of his other tragedies, is more regular than happy. . . . Indeed it may in general be observed of the *German pieces* that the characters of the female personages are by much the most defective both in beauty and in force. But there is another lady in this tragedy, the Countess of Orsina, the last betrayed and abandoned mistress of the prince, whose character the poet has delineated with great ability." This is followed by a brief discussion of *Sara Sampson,* and the article ends with a brief reference to Goethe: "Next to Lessing in point of name is Goethe. He is the author of *Goetz de Berlichingen* and *Clavigo,* two tragedies, as well as of a drama *Stella.* The first is irregular in plan, a biography in dialogue rather than a tragedy. In *Clavigo,* neither the delineation of the characters nor the management of the plot in the first two acts is entitled to much applause, but the last act is wrought up with uncommon force. His other performance, *Stella,* is strongly marked with that enthusiastic sentiment and refined sensibility which in the *Sorrows of Werther* he has so warmly indulged; and in point of immoral effect the drama is not an atom less reprehensible than the novel." [199]

The editor of the *Mirror of Taste,* S. C. Carpenter, was a special champion of the actor Cooke, and Wood's comment is not without interest here: "During Cooke's engagement the spirit of criticism was suddenly aroused in Philadelphia to an uncommon degree. Several persons, well skilled in the delicate branch of literature, made his performances the subject of constant critical eulogy; eulogy which had neither variation nor limit. First among these stood S. C. Carpenter, who acquired considerable celebrity by his well-written notices published in the 'Mirror of Taste,' now first established. . . . He was a

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[199] *Mirror of Taste,* II, pp. 225 to 228.

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practised writer, with most violent prejudices in favor of Cooke and Hodgkinson." [200]

The Chestnut Street Theatre Company closed their season in Philadelphia early, on March 14, and repaired to Washington for a summer campaign, which, after a few nights, was brought to an untimely end by the declaration of war against England. This, following so closely on continued disasters, nearly destroyed all hope of the future. The well-timed care and liberality of Mr. Foster, the British Minister, provided means for the return of some performers to their native country. And Wood adds significantly, the Baltimore autumn season of 1812 was omitted.[201]

Twentieth Season, Chestnut Street Theatre, September 28, 1812, to April 24, 1813.

The German plays for this season were: *The Stranger,* October 2 and December 27; *Pizarro,* October 5 and December 7; *Abaellino,* December 24; *Of Age to Morrow,* January 22; *The Robbers,* January 23 and February 2; *How to Die for Love,* March 20, 24, 27, and April 12. There were this season at this theatre twelve performances of six different plays, four from Kotzebue, one from Schiller and one from Zschokke. One play, *How to Die for Love,* was new in Philadelphia.

For October 2 the following announcement appeared: *The Stranger.* "Cooke having died, at the end of the play will be offered A Tribute to Departed Genius or The Tears of Thalia and Melpomene. For the loss of the celebrated George Frederic Cooke. The stage will present an extensive view of a Cathedral, richly illuminated, at the upper end a statue of the immortal Shakespeare; Solemn Music. On one side a bust of Charles Macklin, author of *Man of the World,* Love à la Mode, etc. On the other side a bust of Ben Jonson, author of *Every Man in his Humour,* etc. In the avenues persons properly habited bear-

[200] Cf. Wood, *Recollections,* etc., p. 169.
[201] Cf. Wood, p. 172.

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ing Mourning Banners of Mr. Cooke's principal plays. In the front an elevated Mourning Platform, on which will be exhibited Sully's full length picture of Mr. Cooke as Richard III. The Tragic and Comic Muse drooping over the bier. Comic Muse—Mrs. Mason, Tragic Muse—Mrs. Wood, Mourners by the Company. The ceremony to conclude with a Monody written by the author of *Occasional Address* to be delivered by Mr. Duff, his second appearance this season, and a Requiem, by the vocal performers, to which will be added the Farce of *The Village Lawyer.*" Duff's engagement began on September 30 in *The Mountaineers,* then followed *The Stranger,* October 2, and on the fifth he appeared as Rolla in *Pizarro,* Wood playing Pizarro and Mrs. Wood—Elvira. On December 7, Holman chose *Pizarro* for his benefit night. In *Abaellino,* December 24, Duff had the leading role. In January, 1813, Mr. Cooper was announced for an engagement of four nights, which was extended to seven nights, including his benefit. The plays were in order, *Richard III, The Robbers, Much Ado About Nothing, Rule a Wife and Have a Wife, Othello, Wheel of Fortune,* and on the benefit night and last appearance once more *The Robbers.* This was Mr. Cooper's first appearance in Philadelphia as "Charles de Moor." The announcement in the papers included the statement: "Translated from the German of Schiller with considerable alterations." These are the same alterations referred to by Wood and already cited.[202]

The one new play for the season was *How to Die for Love,*[203] "never acted here, a new farce in two acts, translated from the German of Kotzebue, received in London with great applause," March 22; it was repeated on March 24 by request, taking the place of the previously announced *Of Age to Morrow,* and again March 27 and April 12. It proved to be a favorite second piece for some time to come. It had appeared on the London stage May 21, 1812, at the Lyceum Theatre, and was repeated eighteen times. The translator is not known. He

[202] Cf. Text and notes for season 1799.

[203] *Blind geladen,* Lustspiel in einem Akt. Almanack, Neunter Jahrgang, No. 2. Leipzig, 1811.

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changed the German one-act play to one of two acts, and made some other minor changes, which, however, Sellier [204] thinks could not have been the cause of its great popularity, for in any form it was bound to be effective. It does not seem to have been printed in America; Wilkens mentions no publication. In London it appeared in print the same year, 1812. Cumberland included it in the fortieth volume of his British Theatre, 1829. He also made some unimportant changes, inserting two songs, one in each act. This is mentioned as the last new play of Kotzebue to be brought out on the English stage for twelve years. No notice seems to have been taken of it in the papers of Philadelphia, and the references from Wood will be given with next season.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Adelgitha,* December 21; *Blind Boy,* January 9; *The Comet,* October 24; *Ella Rosenberg,* December 2; *Fortress,* November 2; *Foundling of the Forest,* November 4; *Is He a Prince,* October 14; *Tekeli,* November 13; *Wheel of Fortune,* February 1.

Among other plays we note first *William Tell,* December 26, with the announcement "Saturday evening, December 26, will be presented an historical play, interspersed with music, called *William Tell* or *The Patriots of Switzerland,* founded on the most interesting events of the Helvetian Confederacy against the usurpation of the House of Austria. Performed at New York and Boston with great applause. A new Patriotic Epilogue will be spoken by Mrs. Mason." [205] No cast is given. The Tell story, as in earlier years, is now used again to arouse the patriotism of the audience. *Bunker Hill,* February 22 and March 3, is also used for this purpose and the announcement adds "to conclude with an attack on Tilbury Fort and destruction of the Armada." The season opened with such a play, *Constitution,* patriotic opera, "to commemorate the late brilliant naval victory."

For April 19, was announced *"Heir at Law,* comedy, after which, for the first time in America, a general tragico, comico,

[204] For brief summary of contents of the German play, as well as an out line of the changes by the translator, see Sellier, pp. 81-82.

[205] Cf. the Tell plays mentioned in season 1796-1797.

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anglo-germanico, hippo melodramatico romance called *Quadrupeds of Quedlinburg,* or *The Rovers of Weimar.*" A reference to a performance of this satire on the German drama on the London stage had appeared earlier in *The Mirror of Taste.*[206] "We have intelligence from London of a very curious and novel dramatic production lately represented at the Haymarket Theatre. and entitled on the bills: A Grand Dressed Rehearsal of a Tragico, Comico, Anglo-Germanico, Hippo, Melo-Dramatico Romance, a new piece in two acts, called the *Quadrupeds of Quedlinburg,* or *The Rovers of Weimar.* It is intended, in the first place, as a satire upon the taste of the time for equestrian spectacle, and as it was announced with more than ordinary tone, a more than ordinary expectation was excited by it. The principle of the piece is the same as that of *The Rehearsal* and of Mr. Sheridan's *Critic,* but not equal to either. The other object of the play is the ridicule of the German language, plot and sentiment, of those unnatural transactions of passion, and combinations of humor and character, which are nowhere found but on the German stage. The piece rehearsed is taken from the admired burlesque on the German school, which some ten or twelve years ago appeared in 'The Anti-Jacobin,' which has been frequently attributed to Mr. Canning, and which was said to be intended as a witty raillery on the style of Southey. The characters of the German drama were very well characterized in the prologue, as sentimental pickpockets, heroic highwaymen and innocent adulteresses. There are chiefly two forms of comic ridicule, the one is the heightening a folly or absurdity, by increasing as it were its effect and dimensions by putting it forth under circumstances calculated to exhibit its deviation from nature. This may be termed comic caricature. The following is an instance of it. The Germans are very extravagant in their feelings and sympathies and sentiment. Two ladies are introduced as passengers in the Brunswick wagon; they talk together about three minutes and then perceiving their congenial natures propose an eternal friendship, and deluge each other's neck with tears. Upon the whole, however, the *Rovers* had a great and un-

[206] *Mirror of Taste,* p. 201. 1811.

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common merit, a portion of wit and meaning, which would be sought in vain in most other modern plays." Some of the dramatis personæ are given as follows: Prior of Quedlinburg, very corpulent and cruel; Rogero, a prisoner in the Abbey, in love with Matilda Pottingen; Casimere, a Polish emigrant, in Dombrowsky's legion, married to Cecilia, but having several children by Matilda; Matilda Pottingen, in love with Rogero and mother to Casimere's children; Pantalowsky and Britchinda, children of Matilda by Casimere; Joachim, Zabel and Aramantha, children of Matilda, by Rogero; children of Casimere and Cecilia; several children, fathers and mothers unknown; Puddingfield and Beefington, English noblemen, exiled by the tyranny of King John previous to the signature of the Magna Charta; Roderic, Count of Saxe-Weimar, a bloody tyrant, with red hair and amourous complexion; Gaspar, the minister of the count, author of Rogero's confinement; Young Pottingen, brother to Matilda; Cecilia Mückenfeld, wife to Casimere; landlady, waiter, grenadiers, troubadours, etc. The scene lies in the town of Weimar, in the neighborhood of the abbey of Quedlinburg. Time, from the twelfth to the present century.

It is not intended to enter into a lengthy discussion of the origin and purpose of this satire, but as the burlesque was produced on the Philadelphia stage a few words of explanation are necessary. The material has been ably handled by Alexander Flohr in *Die Satire:* The *Rovers,* or *The Double Arrangement,*[207] and the following is for the most part based on this

[207] *Die Satire;* the *Rovers, or the Double Arrangement,* Diss., Greifswald, vorgelegt von Alexander Flohr, Weimar, R. Wagner Sohn, 1907. It may not be out of place to give here the chapter headings, showing the scope of the work: Chapter I. Introduction. German Literature, especially the German Drama in the second half of the eighteenth century in England. A. Annals of Immigration and of the Influence of German Literature. Chapter II. Literary forbears of the *Rovers.* A. Literary satires in dramatic form before the *Rovers.* 1. *The Rehearsal; 2. The Beggar's Opera;* 3. *Tom Thumb;* 4. *The Critic.* B. Literary Tendenz, forerunners of the *Rovers.* 1. Baeviad and Maeviad. 2. The Pursuits of Literature. Chapter III. History of the Origin of the Satire. A. Political conditions. B. The Anti-Jacobin, or Weekly Examiner. C. The *Rovers.* Author and time of origin. Chapter IV. Content and Political Satire of the *Rovers.* Chapter V. The Literary Satire in the *Rovers.* A. Parodied characters. B. General literary satire in the introduction of characters. C. Satire in word and situation. Conclusion.

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work. The *Rovers* appeared in two parts on June 4 and 11, 1798, as the "Poetry" of Numbers 30 and 31 of the "Anti-Jacobin." They were directed with literary and political satire against the German storm and stress literature, so much in favor at the time in England. While the weak points of German writings, invited many attacks on its strictly literary form, it was as much the political tendency of much of it that made it a thorn in the flesh of the conservatives and made them detest the works of the "German School," which were received with such favor by the masses. The contributions to the poetry of the "Anti-Jacobin" were not from the pen of one author, and so in this case there were four contributors, William Gifford, George Canning, Sir Bartle Frere and George Ellis; a small contribution came from Prime Minister Pitt. Gifford was the editor and the other three were the real authors. Canning, who conceived the idea of the "Anti-Jacobin" first, conceived the plan of this satire, while Frere did the greater part of the real work. The Anti-Jacobins had a secret place of meeting in the second story of Wright's book store (No. 169 Piccadilly), where the *Weekly Examiner* was also published. At the weekly meetings held on Sundays, the individual contributions were considered. For the most part manuscripts were left open during the week to allow party friends to write down any opinions, ideas or hints. In this manner the *Rovers* received the final touch before going to the hands of the printer.

The prologue in the form of a person begins with an ironical recommendation of the "German School." The old historical plays with their "civil discords" and "regal crimes" had defiled the stage too long, Shakespeare had gone out of fashion, and the Greek and Roman drama had enjoyed favor long enough. Therefore the bard would take his plot today from

> The German Schools, where no dull maxims bind
> The bold expansion of the electric mind.
> Fix'd to no period, circled by no space
> He leaps the flaming bounds of time and place.
> Round the dark confines of the forest raves,

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With gentle Robbers* stocks his gloomy caves;
Tells how prime ministers† are shocking things,
And reigning dukes as bad as tyrant kings;
How to two swains‡ one nymph her vows may give.
And how two damsels§ with one lover live,

It can easily be seen that here the dramas *Die Räuber, Kabale und Liebe, Menschenhass und Reue* and *Stella* are aimed at. But in addition the notes enforce this and heap satire on satire. So we read: "See *The Robbers,** a German tragedy (by Schiller), in which robbery is put in so fascinating a light, that the whole of a German University went upon the highway in consequence of it." The note to prime ministers† reads: "See *Cabal and Love,* a German tragedy (by Schiller), very severe against prime ministers and reigning dukes of Brunswick. This admirable performance very judiciously reprobates the hire of German troops for the American war in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a practice which would undoubtedly have been highly discreditable to that wise and patriotic princess, not to say wholly unnecessary—there being no American war at that peculiar time."[208] To "swains"‡ and "damsels"§ the notes are "See *The Stranger,* or *Reformed Housekeeper,* in which the former of these morals is beautifully illustrated; and *Stella,* a genteel German comedy (by Goethe), which ends with placing a man bodkin between two wives, like Thames between two banks. Nothing can be more edifying than these two dramas. I am shocked to hear that there are some people who think them ridiculous."

The prologue ends with

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[208] This is a hit at the supposed anachronism in *Kabale und Liebe,* in the third scene of the second act; cf. Flohr, p. 59, and also Eichler, John Hookham Frere's Einfluss auf Byron, Weiss und Leipzig, Wiener Beiträge zur englischen Philologie, p. 27. "Diese satire gründet sich auf den bekannten Fall in *Kabale und Liebe,* wo die Tochter des Herzogs von Norfolk, der unter Elizabeth sein Haupt auf den Block legen musste, auftritt, und gleichzeitig die Menschenverachtung des Herzogs gelegentlich des amerikanischen Freiheitskrieges ein bewegendes Motiv für sie bildet." Flohr explains away the anachronism in the German text, blames the faulty translation, but admits that there is just enough appearance to give the satirist a chance.

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Ye travell'd few, attend!—On you our bard
Builds his fond hope! Do you his genius guard!
(Applause.)
Nor let succeeding generations say
A British audience damn'd a German play!
(Loud and continued Applauses.)

Stage directions travesty the English "Horror" plays based on the "German Horror," and in the body of the work the satire is mainly directed against Goethe's *Stella* and *Werther,* Schiller's *Räuber* and *Kabale und Liebe,* and Kotzebue's *Menschenhass und Reue* and *Graf Benyowski;* and also against Lewes' *Monk* and *Castle Spectre.* Political and literary satire are mingled in the strophic song of Rogero, a few strophes of which will give a fair idea of the travesty. Rogero accompanying himself on the guitar sings:

Whene'er with haggard eyes I view
This dungeon that I'm rotting in,
I think of those companions true
Who studied with me at the U—
—niversity of Gottingen—
—niversity of Gottingen.

(Weeps and pulls out a blue kerchief, with which he wipes his eyes . . . gazing tenderly at it he proceeds):

Sweet kerchief, check'd with heavenly blue,
Which once my love sat knotting in!—
Alas! Matilda then was true!
At least I thought so at the U—
—niversity of Gottingen—
—niversity of Gottingen.

Barbs! Barbs! alas! how swift you flew,
Her neat post-waggon trotting in!
Ye bore Matilda from my view;
Forlorn I languish'd at the U—
—niversity of Gottingen—
—niversity of Gottingen.

. . . . . .

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There first for thee my passion grew,
Sweet! sweet Matilda Pottingen!
Thou wast the daughter of my tu-
—tor, law professor at the U—
—niversity of Gottingen—
—niversity of Gottingen.

The first strophe reminds us of a scene in Schiller's *Räuber,* in the fifth scene of Act IV, where Karl Moor, accompanying himself on his lute sings a strophic song close to the gruesome prison. The kerchief points to *Werther,* and so does the last strophe given. The personal satire, in which we are here not interested, was directed against the Whig Robert Adair. He had studied in Göttingen and fallen in love with the daughter of a professor.

With changes and additions, mainly directed against Kotzebue, the satire was performed on July 26, 1811, at the Haymarket Theatre, London, and about nine months latter at the Chestnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia. No doubt various other changes were made in the Philadelphia version, for *The Harper's Daughter (Kabale und Liebe)* was not given in Philadelphia till the following season. The Philadelphia audience was, however, quite prepared to appreciate the political and literary sallies. No other performance seems to have taken place at any of the theatres.[209]

Other plays to note this season are *Alexander, Bee Hive,* or *A Soldier's Son; Cinderella; Constitution,* already mentioned above; *Gustavus Vasa; Lady of the Lake; Little Red Riding Hood, Marmion;* January 1, "for the first time in America, excepting New York, heroic tragedy, fashioned on Mr. Scott's poem;" Holman's *Gazette Extraordinary,* first time in this theatre; D. L. Lye's *Right and Wrong,* announced first time in Philadelphia, but it had been given December 28, at the South Street Theatre, and *Timour, the Tartar.* Of French plays and plays of French origin we note: *Three and Deuce; Paul and Virginia;*

[209] Flohr refers to a performance of one scene of the *Rovers* by the students of Eton College in 1898.

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The Invisible Girl; and the farces and pantomimes: *L'amour vient à bout de tout ou la Précaution inutile; Arlequin dans la lune.*

Shakespeare is represented by *Coriolanus; Hamlet,* two performances; *Henry IV; Julius Cæsar; King Lear; Macbeth, Merchant of Venice; Merry Wives of Windsor,* two performances; *Much Ado About Nothing, Othello* and *Richard III,* two performances each; *Romeo and Juliet; Tempest,* two performances;[210] nineteen performances of thirteen plays. The interest in Shakespeare was maintained by the visiting actors, Duff, Holman, Cooper and Fennel.

The Olympic Theatre (Walnut Street Theatre).

The season opened September 25, and twenty-one performances of sixteen different plays were announced in the papers up to February 2, 1813. The theatre opened under the management of Messrs. Twaits and Breshard, the stage performances under the direction of Twaits and horsemanship under Breshard. October 15, Breshard made an appeal for his benefit night, which implies failure of the company. On February 5, the house was sold by the sheriff, and in August, 1813, it was opened by Pepin and Breshard with circus performances, with a season running from August 30 to December 4, 1813. The Cayetano company had joined them and "many patriotic pieces to celebrate the naval victory on Lake Erie" were promised.

The German plays for the period September 25 to February 2 were *Abaellino,* or *The Great Bandit,* October 1, Robertson in the leading role and Mrs. Twaits as Rosamunda; *Pizarro,* January 30, and for the second period under the new management three performances of *La Perouse,* or *The Desolate Island,* November 27, 30 and December 2; five performances of three different plays. Of possible or partial German plays there was one, *Ella Rosenberg,* October 3 and 6. No other plays need be noted, except one from Shakespeare, *Catharine and Petrucchio.*

[210] The announcement for *Tempest,* January 6, contained the following notice: "The Public are respectfully informed that the profits of this night's performance will be appropriated toward the funds of the Society for the Translation and Publication of the Holy Scriptures into the Eastern Languages."

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The South Street Theatre.

During a short season, lasting from December 8 to January 30, forty different plays are recorded. The announcements were irregular. The German plays for this period were: *The Birth Day,* December 3 and January 2; this was Dibdin's version. *Lovers' Vows,* December 24; *Pizarro,* January 9, and *The Stranger,* December 14. Mr. and Mrs. Beaumont in the leading roles; four performances of four different plays. No other plays need be noted except *Right and Wrong,* comedy, announced as the first time in America, December 28. Of French origin were only a few pantomimes or ballets, *Enchanted Island* or *Calypso's Grotto,* and *L'Offrande à la Mode.* Shakespeare is represented by only one play, *Catharine and Petrucchio.*

Later in April a number of actors formed the "Theatrical Commonwealth." The announcement reads: "Public patronage is respectfully solicited to aid the endeavors of the independent few, whose efforts are directed to the establishment of a 'Theatrical Commonwealth.'" The acquisition of Mr. Waring (Dublin and Liverpool) is announced. Plays are recorded from April 13 to June 9. A reopening is promised for July 5, but no announcements of plays appeared. We find the company later in 1814 at the Olympic Theatre (Walnut) under the name of "Twaits' Commonwealth Company." Their first season was at the South Street Theatre. Here at irregular intervals, indicating trouble, twelve plays were given, and among them we find three German plays, *Fraternal Discord* or *The Birthday,* April 19, announced as the celebrated comedy from the German; *The Stranger* or *The Misanthrope,* April 24, and *Pizarro,* May 24, Waring playing *The Stranger* and *Pizarro* to Caulfield's *Rolla.* The possible or partial German plays were: *Foundling of the Forest,* April 30, and *Ella Rosenberg,* May 8. Shakespeare is not represented. A partial list of the members shows these names: Mr. and Mrs. Twaits, Miss Twaits, Clark, Burke, Caulfield, Anderson, Jacobs, Fisher, Hathwell, Fenell, Jr., and Mrs. Goldson.

Summary for the season 1812-1813 for all the theatres: German plays, 25 performances, 9 plays; plays of possible German

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origin, 12 performances, 9 plays; Shakespeare, 21 performances, 14 plays.

For the year 1813 Wilkens shows the publication of *The Harper's Daughter,* or *Love and Ambition,* which will be referred to in the next season, when it first appeared on the Philadelphia stage. No plays are discussed in any of the Philadelphia magazines. The *Polyanthos,* of Boston, has brief notices of presentations in the Boston Theatre of *La Peyrouse, Abaellino* and *The Stranger.*[211]

Twenty-first Season, Chestnut Street Theatre, November 22, 1813, to April 16, 1814.

The German plays for this season were: *The Harper's Daughter,* or *Love and Ambition,* December 13 and 20; *The Robbers,* December 18; *Of Age to Morrow,* December 20; *How to Die for Love,* December 22, February 14, and March 28; *Count Benyowski,* December 27 and February 12; *Virgin of the Sun,* January 17; *Pizarro,* January 19; *Abaellino,* January 28, and March 30; *The Stranger,* February 2. That is in all fourteen performances of nine different plays, six from Kotzebue, two from Schiller, and one from Zschokke. *The Harper's Daughter* was new to Philadelphia.

In *The Robbers,* December 18, the cast shows Wood as Charles de Moor and Green as Francis; *Count Benyowski,* December 27, and repeated February 12, is announced as a historical play, and was made quite a show piece this season. The full announcement is "Originally written by Kotzebue and translated by the Rev. W. Render, teacher of German in the University of Cambridge. The principal part of the scenery is entirely new, designed and executed by Mr. Robbins, assisted by H. Warren and T. Reinagle."[212] Both nights Wood played Count Benyowski, and Duff-Stephanoff. *The Virgin of the Sun,* January 17, is a new version of the Kotzebue play and not the Dunlap version given first in 1800-1801, and from then on

[211] Cf. Goodnight, 235-240, p. 124.

[212] Cf. p. 107, season of 1803-1804, when a version of this play appeared for the first time; possibly Dunlap's version.

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to 1807 at intervals.[218] The announcement reads: "First night of *The Virgin of the Sun* will be presented, a celebrated drama, written by Kotzebue (with considerable alterations and improvements) called *The Virgin of the Sun.* Performed in London and this season in New York with unbounded applause. The scenery is designed by Mr. Robbins and executed by him assisted by Messrs. H. Warren and T. Reinagle." The Commonwealth Company, playing this season at the Walnut, announced on January 28, of this season: "A new grand operatic drama (never performed in this city) called *The Virgin of the Sun,* is in preparation and will speedily be produced, the scenery designed by Mr. Holland and executed by Messrs. Holland, Reinagle, Williams, Evers and Megarey. The overture and the music consisting of songs, duets, trios, choruses and general marches, composed by Mr. Gilfort." The first performance of the play by this company took place February 2, and other performances followed February 4, 5 and 8. It would seem that the Chestnut Street company stole a march on the other company in bringing out their version first. There can be little doubt that the play at the Walnut, announced as an operatic drama, was the Reynolds version, while the announcement of the Chestnut Street company, "performed in London with unbounded applause points to the same version, except for the notice of the Commonwealth Company on January 28, 'never performed in this city.'" At the Chestnut Street Theatre R. Cooper played Rolla, at the other theatre Holman had this role. *Virgin of the Sun,* January 17, was followed on January 19 by *Pizarro,* or *The Death of Rolla,* announced as the sequel to *Virgin of the Sun.* Mr. Cooper again played Rolla. It is of interest to note the rapid succession of German plays this season, eight different plays appearing between December 18 and February 2, quite justifying the remarks of Wood to be quoted later. On January 28, in *Abaellino,* Cooper played Flodoardo, and March 30 Duff had the role, with Mrs. Duff as Rosamunda.

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[218] Cf. p. 86, where Reynolds' version is referred to as appearing in Covent Garden Theatre in January, 1812, as an Operatic Drama.

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At the time of the opening of the season 1813-1814 the papers anounced, among other novelties, *"The Harper's Daughter,* or *Love and Ambition,*[214] written by Schiller, author of *The Robbers,* etc., translated by M. G. Lewis and performed in London and New York with great applause." Only a partial cast is given. Count Rosenberg (prime minister)—Mr. Green; Baron Rosenberg, his son—Mr. Wood. The extent to which the play was cut we learn from Wood. "The great length of the German tragedies is serious difficulty with us, although none with the author, in a theatre where the play alone forms the whole night's entertainment. When the tragedy of *The Minister* was produced upon the Philadelphia stage it was found necessary to omit the whole character of Augusta (Lady Milford) a portion of the drama upon which the great talents of Schiller have been most laboriously employed."[215]

The plays of Kotzebue reached Philadelphia about the same time as New York, and the years 1799-1802 show in Philadelphia as well as in New York the first high-water mark, when they practically dominated the stage. Gradually they appear less frequently, reach another high mark in the years 1813 and 1814, and still another, especially in the minor theatres, in 1822. *The Robbers* appears almost regularly once a season, some seasons twice between 1806 and 1826, while *The Harper's Daughter* came in on the wave of 1813. "The German drama, at this time stood high in public favor. We may call it, indeed, the German season. *Pizarro, Virgin of the Sun, The Stranger* and *The Robbers* had been long favorably established, as well as Kotzebue's minor pieces, *How to Die for Love, Horse and the Widow.* Of *Age to Morrow,* and others. *Benyowski* has been already noticed. But this season (he is speaking of 1813-1814) they became entirely the fashion and made the German drama a matter much discussed. Schiller's noble drama, *The Minister,* or *Cabal and Love,* was now altered and acted with distinguished success under the title of *The Harper's Daughter."*[216] Wood's statement

[214] *Kabale und Liebe,* 1784.

[215] Cf. Wood, p. 185.

[216] Cf. Wood, p. 183; also quoted by Wilkens, p. 129.

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should be amended, for the actual performances as announced in the papers show these conditions not only during the season of 1813-1814, but during the greater part of two years, including part of the season 1812-1813, the whole of the season 1813-1814 and part of the season 1814-1815.

The version of *The Harper's Daughter* was published in Philadelphia in 1813 and is listed by Wilkens,[217] as adapted from *The Minister,* a tragedy in five acts. Translated from the German of Schiller, by M. G. Lewis, Esq., M. P., London, 1797. The first attempt in England at a translation of a few scenes of *Kabale und Liebe* was by Ash and appeared in *The Spectator,* 1790. An anonymous and poor translation appeared in 1795.[218] This version was never acted. M. G. Lewis' translation under the title *The Minister* appeared in 1797, and a second edition in 1798. It is considered little better than a paraphrase, with unwarranted omissions and additions. This version was, however, never acted. A version was first acted in Covent Garden, March, 1803, under the title *The Harper's Daughter,* and is an adaptation by Lewis of *The Minister.* It was well received in London. The Philadelphia version is practically Lewis' version, with "considerable alterations."

The interest in the German drama at this period is reflected in the Personal Recollections of Wood, who, as stated above, calls this particular season the "German Season," and indirectly makes quite a defense of the German drama. No one was more competent to speak, and so his words deserve to be given in full:

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[217] Cf. Wilkens, App. 152. [Schiller, F. von] *The Harper's Daughter,* or *Love and Ambition.* A tragedy, in five acts. Translated from the German of Schiller, author of *The Robbers, Don Carlos,* etc. By M. B. Lewis, Esq., M.P. Author of *The Monk.* And now published with considerable alterations, as performed at the Philadelphia and Baltimore theatres. Philadelphia: Published by M. Carey, N. 121 Chestnut Street. Printed by R. & W. Carr. 1813. 16°. Pp. 5-76.

[218] For this and the following cf. Schiller's Dramas and Poems in England. By Thomas Rea, M.A., Lecturer in German and Teutonic Philology in the University College of North Wales. Bangor, London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1906. Ch. III, pp. 36-39, *Cabal and Love* in England. Cf. also G. G., Vol. V, where J. J. B. Timaeus is given as translator. Bohn in his translation, 1849, gives Peter Columbine as the translator. Cf. also Calvin Thomas, *Life of Schiller,* p. 146. For the latest translation by T. C. Wilkenson, 1884, and an adaptation of *Cabal and Love,* with the title, *Power and Principle,* performed at the new Strand Theatre in 1850; cf. also Rea, p. 39.

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"With regard to the moral of *The Stranger, Lovers' Vows* and others, which were a good deal discussed at this time I am speaking of, a difference of opinion exists. I have nothing to say on that subject, but I may say that I have been exceedingly entertained by what the French call *Bigarrures de l'Esprit Humain,* when I have seen the morality which condemns the German plays reconcile itself, by at least a constant attendance upon them, to all manner of musical, as well as other versions of the detestable but favorite *Don Juan.* Of this piece no less than six different dramas, operas or pantomimes have been produced on the Philadelphia stage; French, Italian and English having all been called into requisition for the important service. The German play of *Abaellino,* by Zschokke, a German writer, lately much read, furnished but a simple and harmless original, from which to originate the 'Massaronis,' 'Macairies,' 'Fra Diavolo,' etc., which have sprung from it.[219]

"In speaking of what the auditors of the English and American theatres call the German drama, and of which their ideas are generally perhaps taken from *Pizarro, The Harper's Daughter,* and some other acting pieces, it ought to be said, in regard to their literary and dramatic merits, that the German form of them has been so freely treated by English and American play-makers, that it requires some careful perusal of the originals in order to fully appreciate their merits. With all due allowance for the necessity of changing some phrases, as well as situations, peculiarly local or national, it must be allowed that some of the alterations were dictated either by an ignorance of the author's meaning, or an unwarrantable caprice. This remark applies with force to *Pizarro,* particularly, in many scenes of which we find labored dialogue, or wild melodramatic action, substituted for the beautiful simplicity of the original; the acting version having been concocted by Mr. Sheridan for *political purposes* and to produce an effect upon the feelings of the people of abhorrence of the French and their leader. The Germans, it is said, consider *The Virgin of the Sun* a far superior performance to *Pizarro,* which, by

[219] Wood is here speaking of a later period.

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the way, was only intended as a sequel to the other. Strangely enough, the end of the story was produced first, both here and in England, and anticipating, in some degree, the charm and novelty of Peruvian scenery and costume, lessened greatly the effect properly due the first part.

"I am not meaning to find fault with these changes in adapting *German* pieces to our audiences, but merely to speak of the fact as one in connection with literary identity, and to guard the reader against a false impression produced by the popular retention of a national name. In offering a German drama to an American audience, many alterations are positively indispensable. The vigorous language and forcible expression of the original would often startle and shock in a *literal* translation, while many appeals to the Deity on trivial occasions, and frightful imprecations, would render a faithful version insufferable.[220] . . . In *The Robbers* the episode of Kozinski and the disguise scenes of Charles as the count are omitted, with great advantage to the general interest of the piece, and particularly as they affected the position and value of Amelia. A prolixity in some of the scenes, especially those of Francis, Kozinski, and the assumed count, throws a weight upon the play, which may well be omitted, and save, to the actor of Charles, much power, otherwise wasted on minor situations, and which is loudly called for at the close of the fourth and throughout the fifth act. Many of the alterations made in *Pizarro* have nothing to do with the German original whatever, but, as I have indicated, are purely English. It is known that, owing to the revolutionary and seditious character of many of the sentiments put into the mouths of the personages in them, the English would not suffer the plays of Kotzebue to appear for some time upon their stage. His very name was odious; and it was considered dangerous to the state in the then excited condition of the masses, to allow the utterance of any sentiment disrespectful to the throne. Perceiving the immense power of his general cast of plays with a popular audience, Sheri-

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[220] Here follow the remarks already quoted above in connection with *The Harper's Daughter.*

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dan, with his usual ability, seized upon the play of *Pizzaro* and by some omissions and some changes avoided everything disrespectful to the English prince, while he directed all the odium, which the author meant for the Spanish leader, against Napoleon. The result of all this I may add was, that the dislike of the audience to Kotzebue was converted into the wildest admiration. It made German plays popular for several years, and led to a closer knowledge of Schiller than any other circumstance could have effected." Another alteration of plays by actors is referred to as a "mutilation of the best plays due to the vanity of some star who wishes to make himself the be-all and end-all of the piece. The cruel butchery of such plays as *The Honeymoon, Pizarro, William Tell, Rivals* and others, by carving out all except the principal part, has become so frequent as to forbid any hope of speedy remedy."

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Adelgitha,* November 27; *Adrian and Orilla,* March 21, and April 13; *Blind Boy,* February 11; *Ella Rosenberg,* April 16; *Foundling of the Forest,* December 22; *Tekeli,* April 11; *Wheel of Fortune,* January 29; *William Tell,* December 31.

Other plays to note are: *The Aethiop,* or *Child of the Desert,* a romantic play in five acts by Dimond, with a run of eight performances. *The Exile* or *The Russian Daughter,* musical and historical drama, founded on facts, by F. Reynolds. For the first time in Philadelphia, February 18; music by Mazzinzki. A partial cast shows Count Ulrick (the Exile)—Green; Governor of Tobolksk—Warren; Daran—Duff; Empress Elizabeth—Mrs. Duff; Catharine—Mrs. Green; Alexina (Ulrick's daughter)—Mrs. Wood. There were eight performances during the season. *Education,* a comedy in five acts, by Th. Morton, with six performances. *Marmion* is still popular. Besides pantomimes and ballets, such as *L'amour vient à bout de tout; La petite Trompeuse,* we note a few others of French origin, for the first time in Philadelphia, February 12; *The Toothache,* or *The Mistakes of a Morning,* from *Le Prince Ramoneur,* arranged by John Bray, comedian; *The Midnight Hour,* from the French of Beaumarchais, March 11, and a revival of *Widow's Vow,* first time in

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eighteen years, translated by Mrs. Inchbald from Patrat's *L'Heuseuse Erreur*;[221] and *The Forest of Hermanstadt,* or *Prince and no Princess,* simply announced as from the French. This play and *The Toothache* are announced as new plays at Carey's Book Store.

Shakespeare is represented by *Catharine and Petrucchio; Hamlet; Henry IV; Macbeth; Much Ado About Nothing; Othello; Richard III; Romeo and Juliet,* eight performances of as many plays.

Only one solitary announcement appeared from the South Street Theatre, and this by the Mortonian Society, which speaks of "juvenile" attempts of the season of 1812-1813. The plays for the one night, April 14, were *Jane Shore* and *Irishman in London,* Mrs. Harper in the leading role.

The Olympic Theatre (Walnut Street).

From August 30 to December 4, 1813, Pepin and Breshard, with the Cayetano company, gave equestrian and other spectacular performances. *La Perouse,* or *The Desolate Island,* was given as a pantomime three times November 27, 30 and December 2.

From January 17 to March 17 the Theatrical Commonwealth Company occupied the Olympic, and during this period a number of German plays and other interesting plays were given. The German plays were *Of Age to Morrow,* January 18; *Virgin of the Sun,* February 2, 4, 5 and 8; *Pizarro,* February 19; *Rugantino,* or *The Bravo of Venice,* February 22, 26, and March 3; *The Horse and The Widow,* March 3; ten performances of five different plays. *The Virgin of the Sun* has been referred to above in the Chestnut Street repertoire. In connection with the last performance of this play there appeared the announcement: "The public are respectfully informed that Commodore Perry will honor the Theatrical Commonwealth with his presence this evening (Tuesday), February 8; it having been the intention of the Commodore to attend a performance at the Olympic Theatre previous to his departure from Philadelphia (which will posi-

[221] Cf. season 1795-1796, p. 67.

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tively take place on Wednesday morning),[222] when will be presented for the last time *The Virgin of the Sun." Rugantino* is announced as first time in Philadelphia, but it appeared first in the season 1807-1810 at the Chestnut Street Theatre. The only play of partial German origin was *The Foundling of the Forest,* January 29.

Other plays to note are the pantomime *Robinson Crusoe,* or *Harlequin Friday; The Students of Salamanca,* comdey, first time in Philadelphia, February 28; *The Young Quaker,* March 5, with new scene representing the departure of the "Adams" from New York with the American Minister to Gottenburg. The only play of French origin to note is *The Vintagers,* a romance in two acts, now performing in London, translated from the French by E. I. Eyre, after the romance a French duet "Mon Coeur." Shakespeare was represented by three plays, *As You Like It; Merchant of Venice; Romeo and Juliet.* Some of the names appearing in the casts were: Clarke, Burke, Caulfield, Anderson, Jacobs, Fisher, Hathwell, Waring, Mr. and Mrs. Holman, Miss Clarke, Mrs. Godson, and during this brief season Fennel and Dwyer had engagements, and the Placides also appear.

At the Columbia Garden occasional pantomimes, mostly from La Gaité, Paris, are announced, such as *Valcour and Emilia; Le Maréshal de Logis; Don Quixote,* etc.

Summary for the season 1813-1814, for all the theatres: German plays, Chestnut Street Theatre, 14 performances, 9 plays; Olympic (Walnut, Circus), 3 performances, 1 play; Olympic (Walnut, Commonwealth Company), 10 performances, 5 plays, making a total of 27 performances of 12 different plays. Plays of partial or possible German origin, 10 performances of 8 different plays. Shakespeare plays, 11 performances, 10 plays.

For 1814 Wilkens lists a number of German plays, a New York publication of Walter Scott's translation of *Goetz von Berlichingen,* reprint of the London edition, 1799; Dunlap's *The Good Neighbor;* an interlude, altered from a scene of Iffland's *Die Nachbarschaft. The Corsicans,* a reprint of the London edi-

[222] Which would, of course, preclude his attendance at any other theatre.

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tion, 1799, from Kotzebue's *Die Corsen,* 1799. Dunlap's version of *Lovers' Vows,* as performed at the New York Theatre. Dunlap's version of *Peter the Great,* or *The Russian Mother,* which Wilkens passes as a translation and alteration from the German by William Dunlap, of New York. It is an adaptation of Babo's *Die Strelitzer* and will be referred to next season, when it appears for the first time in Philadelphia.[223] It is also interesting to note that during this period Mme. de Staël's *De L'Allemagne* became accessible in English translation under the title Germany, by the Baroness Staël-Holstein.[224] A review of Mme. de Staël's *De L'Allemagne* from the *Edinburgh Review* appeared in the *Analectic Magazine,* Philadelphia. No references to any of the German plays appear in any of the Philadelphia magazines, but the *Polyanthos,* of Boston, continues to make at least brief announcements of *Abaellino* and *La Peyrouse* at the Boston Theatre. And the *Quarterly Review,* New York, has a long review of *De L'Allemagne,* and one on Goethe's *Farbenlehre,* Tübingen, 1810.[225]

A concert given under the direction of C. F. Hupfeld shows in the program the following names: Green, Burke, Placide, Blondeau and Lafolle, while the selections were from the following composers: Mozart, Kelly, Storace, Hugot, Rode, Kreutzer and Haydn.

Twenty-second Season, Chestnut Street Theatre, November 28, 1814, to April 17, 1815.

The German plays for this season were: *The Robbers,* December 3; *Count Benyowski,* December 5; *How to Die for Love,* December 21, and April 17; *Pizarro,* December 24, and February 10; *Peter the Great,* or *The Russian Mother,* December 26; *Abaellino,* January 27, and February 17; *The Stranger,* March

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[223] Cf. Wilkens, App. 155-158 and 160.

[224] Cf. Germany; by the Baroness Staël Holstein. Translated from the French. Three volumes in two. New York, Eastburn, Kirk & Co. At the Literary Rooms, corner of Wall and Nassau Streets, 1814. Cf. Friedrich Schiller in America, E. C. Parry.

[225] Cf. Goodnight, pp. 125-126, No. 248, 251-253, 258 and 259.

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17; *Deaf and Dumb,* March 25, and *Of Age to Morrow,* April 1. There were in all twelve performances of nine different plays, six from Kotzebue, one from Schiller, one from Zschokke, and one from Babo.

The Robbers, December 3, 1814, appears after an interval of a year, with the announcement: "Now revived from the copy originally performed at this theatre;" Wood played Charles de Moor. The cast is incomplete, and we might be in doubt as to the copy meant, with the episode of Kozinsky or without it; but a subsequent announcement, including the cast and also the note above shows that the copy is meant which Wood has referred to as the preferable one for their purposes, namely with the Kozinski episode omitted.

Count Benyowski, December 5, is announced as a historical play; Count Benyowski—Wood, and Athanasia—Mrs. Waring. Wood says: "It was frequently remarked that plays of *winter scenery* as *The Exile, Benyowski* and *Peter the Great,* were always agreeable to our audience."[226] A complete outline of some of the scenes is given with wintery scene emphasized. "Scene second, view of the village of Bolcherek, in the *depth of a Siberian winter,* the whole country covered *with snow,* up and down are scattered miserable huts, and everything indicates the poverty and wretchedness of the exiles. Act III, scene second, *winter view* of part of fortress of Bolcherek, with balcony and porch. Last scene, midnight, discovers a view of the harbor of Bolcherek, with ramparts, etc. A frigate ready for sailing. Conspirators in busy preparation on board, for their escape providing stores, unfurling sails, etc. The ship guarded by a party of exiles with torches, etc." The announcement of *The Hero of the North,* March 23, of last season, puts even more stress on the winter scenes: Interior of a Swedish peasant's hut, through the casement mountainous country *covered with snow* . . . the door opens and discovers a *snowstorm.* . . . Rubinski and Frederica enter, their robes are dishevelled and scattered *with fallen snow.* Exterior of Saint Catharine's Abbey, the spires,

[226] Cf. Wood, p. 214.

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turrets *covered with snow.* The Convent garden in the interior of the walls of the Abbey with a large cross, the whole *covered with snow.* Scene last, the garrison *covered with snow.* This then would account for the preference at least of the two plays, *Benyowski* and *Peter the Great.*

In *How to Die for Love,* announced as a favorite piece, Wood played Captain Thalwick, and Duff—Captain Blumenfeld. In *Pizarro,* December 24, Wood played Pizarro, Duff—Rolla, and Mrs. Duff—Cora. February 10 it is announced, "by particular desire," Cooper played Rolla and Mrs. Duff—Cora.

In *Abaellino,* January 27, Duff had the leading role and Miss Jefferson (her first appearance)—Rosamunda; on February 17, Cooper played Flodoardo, and Mrs. Wood—Rosamunda. *The Stranger,* March 17, was Thompson's version, Wood playing the Stranger, and Mrs. Wood played Mrs. Haller. In *Deaf and Dumb,* March 25, Wood is announced as the Abbé de l'Epée, with the original epilogue.

The one play new to Philadelphia was *Peter the Great,* or *The Russian Mother,*[227] December 26. It is announced as "Altered from the German and adapted to the American stage. With new additional scenery, dresses and decorations. Peter (Czar of Russia)—Duff, Sophia Sudarow (the Russian Mother)—Mrs. Mason. This is a Dunlap version and its publication in New York, March, 1814, was referred to in the account of the last season.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Adrian and Orilla,* or *A Mother's Vengeance,* December 9; *Foundling of the Forest,* December 12; *The Exile,* December 20, 31 and February 25, which should have been included in this list last season also, Abercrombie playing Count Ulrik, and Mrs. Mason—Alexina. *The Comet,* December 24, which should also have been included in season 1812-1813, and which may be a version of *Der Komet,* by Iffland. *The Fortress,* February 27, a melodrama, Count Everard—Mr. Duff; Celestine—Mrs. Duff. *Tekeli,* March 23, and *Adelmorn, The Outlaw,* April 1; Baron of Bergen—Duff, and *Blind Boy,* April 3.

[227] *Die Strelitzer.*

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Other plays to note were: *The Camp,* comic opera, first time in America, December 26; *The Renegade,* drama, by F. Reynolds, first time in Philadelphia, January 2; *Turn Out,* comic opera, first time in Philadelphia, March 17. Besides these we note *The Aethiop; Catch Club,* or *Feast of Anacreon; Lady of the Lake; Students of Salamanca,* by Robert E. Jameson, Esq., of the Inner Temple; *Return from Camp,* "by a lady from this city," and a number of revivals of former stock plays, *The Rivals; School for Scandal; She Stoops to Conquer;* Coleman's comedy, *Who Wants a Guinea,* and *Zorinsky,* or *Freedom to the Brave,* historical play, first time in fourteen years, also called *The Polish Confederacy.* No new plays of French origin are noted; *The Forest of Hermannstadt, Toothache* and *Widow's Vow,* besides some other ones, continue to appear.

Shakespeare is represented by *Catharine and Petrucchio; Hamlet and Henry IV,* two performances each; *King Lear; Macbeth; Othello; Richard III,* and *Romeo and Juliet,* two performances each; twelve performances of eight plays. We note fewer visiting actors from abroad; Cooper took the leading rôle in quite a number. With *King Lear,* April 15, Mr. Fennell takes formal leave of the stage.

No records were found of any plays at the South Street Theatre. At the Olympic (Walnut) occasional announcements appear of Vilallave and company, with rope dancing, pantomime, etc. The company sailed for Havana in November. The Olympic Theatre was sold by public auction on November 29.[228] No plays were announced at any of the Gardens, either at the Philadelphia Garden, 828 Race, under the direction of Jos. Latourne, nor at the Vauxhall on Broad Street. The third annual concert, given at Masonic Hall, December 20, 1814, by Mr. C. F. Hupfeld, "assisted by all the principal professors and amateurs of this city," included besides Hupfeld the following: Stewart, Pfeiffer, Jefferson and Mrs. Green. The selections were from Wranzky, Hook, Fraenzl, Kotzluck, Carr and King. The second concert of the Handelian Society is announced at Academy

[228] Cf. p. 12 for full notice of this sale.

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Hall, North Fourth Street, for February 2, 1815; Organ—R. Taylor; Leader of the Band—Gillingham; Leader of the Choir—Dyer.

Summary for season 1814-1815, German plays: 12 performances, 9 plays. Plays of possible or partial German origin: 10 performances, 8 plays. Shakespeare plays: 12 performances, 8 plays.

Wilkens gives no publications for 1815, and no plays are discussed in any of the Philadelphia magazines. The *Analectic Magazine,* Philadelphia, has a notice of Zach. Werner's Luther Play (Martin Luther, oder die Weihe der Kraft), and his subsequent conversion to Catholicism,[229] and also a mere notice of a refutation of Mme. de Staël's *De L'Allemagne,* by the Baroness de la Motte Fouqué. *The Portfolio* publishes a satire on German stupidity in the form of "Letters from a German Nobleman to his Father."[230] In *The Aurora* for March 21 there is offered for sale a work called "Charms of Literature, Divided into Pathetic, Sentimental and Gothic Subjects." There are in all twenty-seven pieces, No. 17 being *The Robbers,* or *Effects of the Miseries of Human Life.* We get occasional glimpses of the importance of French still at this period, for announcements about letters at the general delivery still appear in French, and on February 10 there appeared an *Ode dédiée aux braves defenseurs d'Orléans. Chant Patriotique, sur l'air de Roland. Dédiée à la Milice de la Nouvelle Orléans, et aux braves accourus à la defence de cette ville par J. Leclerc.*

Twenty-third Season, Chestnut Street Theatre, November 27, 1815 to April 16, 1816.

The German plays for this season were: *The Robbers,* December 11; *How to Die for Love,* December 16; *The Stranger,* December 20; *Of Age to Morrow,* December 30; *Pizarro,* February 24 and April 10; *Abaellino,* April 3, and *Count Benyowski,* April 15; in all eight performances of seven different

[229] Cf. *Analectic Magazine,* Philadelphia, VI, 343.

[230] Cf. *Portfolio,* New Series, XIII, 255, 448; also listed by Goodnight, p. 127.

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plays, five from Kotzebue and one each from Schiller and Zschokke. No new play is recorded. From 1814 on we note a smaller number of performances of German plays and this condition continues to about 1818, when there is a slight increase, but from 1820 on the number increases rapidly, especially in the minor theatres, where some of them had longer runs.

As in the last season we find *The Robbers* as the first German play, December 11, Wood playing Charles de Moor and Mrs. Duff—Amelia. *The Stranger,* December 20, was the Thompson version, Wood playing the Stranger and Mrs. Wood—Mrs. Haller. With the other performances no casts were given, but we note the preference shown for German plays in that several, Mr. and Mrs. Seymour and Mrs. White chose them for their benefit night; *Pizarro* and *Count Benyowski* were thus chosen.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Adelmorn, the Outlaw,* December 22, Wood as the Count of Bergen, and Mrs. Wood as Imogen; *Adrian and Orilla,* December 13, Wood as Altenburg and Mrs. Wood as Orilla; *The Comet,* January 3 and February 24; *Ella Rosenberg,* February 2; *The Exile,* December 9 and 30, a partial cast shows Governor of Tobolsk—Warren; Baron Altradoff—Entwistle; Servitz—Jefferson; Daran—Duff; the Patriarch—Barret; Empress Elizabeth—Mrs. Duff; Catharine—Mrs. Placide, and Alexina—Mrs. Wood; *The Fortress,* April 6; *Foundling of the Forest,* December 6 and March 8, Mrs. Burke appearing for the first time in Philadelphia, namely as Rosabelle; *Tekeli,* March 23, and *Wheel of Fortune,* April 16.

Several plays were new to Philadelphia this season and one announced as for the first time in America, namely, *Family Legend,* historical drama, by Joanne Baillee, "authoress of a series of plays on the passions," March 22 and 27; and new to Philadelphia, *Past Ten O'clock,* December 4, and *Zembuca,*or *The Netmaker and His Wife,* melodramatic romance in four acts, by J. Pocock, from Covent Garden Theatre, January 1, and ten performances in all, quite a run for this period. No cast is given, but some of the scenes are described: "Piece opens with a beautiful view of the Harem Gardens. Scene 2, netmaker's cottage.

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Scene 6, apartment of imperial palace of Zembuca, with a Persian Pas de Deux. Act II, shore beneath the walls of fortress, platform with a watch-tower. Act IV, exterior of fortress. *The Hero of the North, Lady of the Lake, Rivals, School for Scandal* and *She Stoops to Conquer* remain popular, with a revival of *Duplicity* or *Masked Friend* and *Devil's Bridge.* With the latter we usually find the announcement of a song from *William Tell,* but this time it is the Star Spangled Banner. Of French origin were for the first time in America, *The Forest of Bondy,* or *The Dog of Montargis,* January 17, 19 and February 26, "founded on fact and translated from the French, and played in London forty nights." January 17, Mr. Wood's benefit night; *Jean de Paris,* drama, December 26, 27 and January 12, "translated from the celebrated French piece of that name, by J. S. Arnold, author of *Man and Wife, Shipwreck,* London." On the same night with *The Stranger* was given for the first time in Philadelphia *Fortune of War,* a comic piece translated from the French, by James Kenny. Another play may be based on the French, *The Magpie and the Maid,* or *Who's the Thief,* a "pathetic drama," February 28 and five more nights.

Shakespeare is represented by *Catharine and Petrucchio; Hamlet,* January 20, Cooper; and March 6, Mr. Barton; *King Lear; Macbeth,* December 18, and on January 26, Cooper; *Much Ado About Nothing,* February 3, Cooper's benefit; *Othello; Richard III,* and *Romeo and Juliet,* December 4 and March 15 with Barton; eleven performances of eight plays. Cooper's engagement began January 20, with *Hamlet,* included besides six Shakespeare plays: *Honeymoon, Iron Chest* and *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife,* and closed with *Much Ado About Nothing,* February 3.

At the other theatres there is very little to note. At the South Street Theatre but one night was announced, June 27, and then postponed to July 1, *The Fair Americans* and *The Village Lawyer.* The following names are shown in the cast: Monier, "a gentleman from New York"; White, Liston, Yates, Johnston, Lewis, Mrs. Jones, Harper, Davis, Lewis and Monier.

At the Olympic (Walnut) slight of hand, conjuring, etc., performances are announced for six nights, the company having

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moved from Masonic Hall to the theatre. On June 14, was announced a historical divertissement, *Yankee Chronology*, or *The Tars of Columbia*, the most admired musical interlude, written by Wm. Dunlap. At a concert on May 30, occurs among others a French song from the opera of *Benyowski*, "composed by Boieldieu." At Vauxhall Garden John Scotti and company gave entertainments, but no plays are announced.

Announcements of the circus continue, but without any plays. The Hupfeld annual concert included Evenden—Blondeau, Lafolle and Mrs. Placide. The composers represented were: Wranzky, Hook, Fraenzl, Braham, Dusseck, Hugot and Kreutzer.

Summary for the season 1815-1816: German plays, 8 performances, 7 plays. Plays of possible or partial German origin: 12 performances, 9 plays. Shakespeare plays: 11 performances, 8 plays.

Wilkens records no publications of plays for 1816, and the magazines of Philadelphia made no mention of the theatre nor of any plays. In *The Portico*, Baltimore, however, appeared a short article "On the State of Polite Literature in Germany with discussion of Bürger, Goethe, Lessing, Baggesen, Schiller, Kotzebue and Gessner, the criticism was unfavorable."[281]

Twenty-fourth Season, Chestnut Street Theatre, November 25, 1816, to April 24, 1817.

The German plays for this season were: *Pizarro*, November 29, and February 1; *Of Age to Morrow*, January 10, and February 21; *How to Die for Love*, January 29; *The Robbers*, February 8; *Abaellino*, March 22; *The Stranger*, March 24; in all eight performances of six different plays, four from Kotzebue, and one each from Schiller and Zschokke. No new play is recorded.

Cooper's engagement during this season, 1816-1817, extended over twenty performances, and on February 8, 1817, he appeared in *The Robbers* as "Charles de Moor". He also appeared in *Pizarro* on February 1, and on the same night with his *Coriolanus;* January 29 was given *How to Die for Love*. His

[281] *Portico*, Baltimore, II, p. 17; listed by Goodnight, p. 128.

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repertoire for this season consisted for the most part of Shakespeare plays, which will be mentioned below. There is nothing new to note about the plays this season and only the stock phrases, such as "favorite farce", "celebrated play" and "celebrated comedy" occur.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Adrian and Orilla,* December 13; *Blind Boy,* March 31; *Comet,* March 3; *Ella Rosenberg,* March 29; *Foundling of the Forest,* November 27; *Tekeli,* March 19, and *Wheel of Fortune,* February 17; seven performances of as many plays.

Of other plays to note some were new to Philadelphia, namely, *Armorer's Escape,* or *Three Years at Nootka Sound,* melodrama, March 21; *Bertram,* or *Castle of Aldobrand,* "tragedy in five acts by the Rev. R. Maturin, author of *Fatal Revenge, Wild Irish Boy, Milesian Chief,* etc., now presented from the copy, altered and adapted to the stage by the author as performed at Covent Garden, Baltimore and New York"; *Farmer's Wife,* play interspersed with music, March 15; *Guy Mannering,* or *The Gipsy's Prophecy,* melodrama, March 7; *Woodman's Hut,* melodramatic romance by Kenny, as played in London, New York and Boston, December 26, and repeated several times during the season; *Rockeby,* or *The Buccaneers,* melodramatic romance, arranged by a gentleman of Maryland, December 21; *Gustavus Vasa* is chosen for February 22, Washington's birthday. Among others to note are: *Aladdin,* January 1, with a run of six nights; *Robin Hood,* or *Love in Sherwood Forest,* April 17; *The Siege of Belgrade* is revived and *Zembuca* remains popular, as well as *School for Scandal* and *She Stoops to Conquer.*

Shakespeare is represented by *Catharine and Petrucchio,* January 25; *Hamlet,* January 18, and February 29; *Henry IV,* February 12; *Julius Caesar,* February 14; *King Lear,* April 5; *Macbeth,* January 20, and April 16; *Much Ado About Nothing,* February 10; *Othello,* February 3; *Richard III,* January 24; *Romeo and Juliet,* December 6, and *Tempest,* April 3; thirteen performances of eleven different plays. The many Shakespeare plays are due to Cooper's long engagement, he appearing in at least eight of them, and Duff in two.

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No further references appear at the South Street Theatre. Occasionally plays are announced at the Olympic in connection with the Circus performances, such as *Escape of Adelina, La Fille Houssard, Don Quixote, Vintagers,* or *Mysteries of the Marquis,* and *Timour the Tartar.* The season closed on January 17, 1817. Vauxhall Garden closed October 10, 1816, and no plays are recorded. The Hupfeld Annual Concert was given in Masonic Hall, and beside Hupfeld appear the names Mrs. Bastian and Mme. Knibel from Paris. The composers represented on the programme were: Gerowitz, Bornand, Cousell, Braham, Kreutzer, Huffner, Buhler and Hook.

Summary for the season 1816-1817: German plays, eight performances, six plays. Plays of possible or partial German origin: seven performances, seven plays. Shakespeare plays: thirteen performances, eleven plays.

Wilkens records no publications for 1817, and the magazines of Philadelphia have no reference to plays or the theatre. The New York and Boston theatres received more attention from *The American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review,* New York, where we find sharp criticisms of Schiller's *Robbers;* notes on *Abaellino; The Stranger;* and mention of presentations in New York Theatre of *Abaellino, Pizarro,* and *The Stranger;* also mention of a presentation in the Boston Theatre of *Pizarro.*[232]

In connection with this season we note the first introduction of gas in any theatre of America November 25, 1817.[233]

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[232] For these references and a number of others from this magazine, *The American Register,* Philadelphia; *Portfolio,* Philadelphia and New York; *Athenaeum,* Boston; *North American Review,* Boston, and *Boston Weekly Messenger.* Cf. Goodnight, pp. 128-131. These show a translation of W. Schlegel's *Shakespeare,* a short critique of Wm. Schlegel and the German School of Philosophy, from the *Edinburgh Review,* a sketch of Schiller the Poet, a review of A. W. Schlegel's Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature, translated by John Black, London, 1815, and a review of Goethe's *Aus meinem Leben. Dichturg und Wahrheit,* by E. Everett.

[233] The announcement in full was: "The theatre will be opened Monday, November 25, and will hereafter be entirely illuminated by gas (established under the immediate inspection and control of Dr. Kugler). The managers are happy to be the first to introduce this system of lighting theatres in America and flatter themselves that its superior *safety, brilliancy* and neatness will be satisfactorily experienced by the audience."

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Twenty-fifth Season, Chestnut Street Theatre, December 1, 1817, to April 25, 1818.

The German plays for this season were: *Reconciliation,* or *Birthday,* December 8; *How to Die for Love,* December 17 and January 14; *The Robbers,* February 28; *Abaellino,* March 2; *The Stranger,* March 4; *Of Age to Morrow,* March 18; *Virgin of the Sun,* March 21; *Count Benyowski,* March 30, and *Pizarro,* April 15; in all ten performances of nine different plays, seven from Kotzebue and the usual ones from Schiller and Zschokke. No new play appeared. On February 20, there is a promise of a revival of *The Harper's Daughter,* and on March 27, it is again announced without any definite date. On the same date *Pizarro* is announced for Saturday, March 28, but the actual announcement in the paper for March 28 has *Magpie and the Maid,* and as second piece *Lady of the Lake.* It is difficult to say whether these German plays were given as promised and the actual announcements in the papers for the day were inaccurate, or the plan was afterwards changed, *Harper's Daughter* omitted altogether, and *Pizarro* postponed to April 15, when Robertson chose it for his benefit night. Up to this time there had been at most only four performances a week, the days being Monday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday, but with the opening of this season, on December 1, a performance for every evening of this first week was announced. This becomes gradually more frequent, and by 1824 it is the rule at the Chestnut Street Theatre.[28a]

On February 28, 1818, the papers announced "the celebrated tragedy", and there followed on consecutive nights of performance, *Abaellino,* March 2, and *The Stranger,* March 4, "the favored comedy by particular desire", in which Wood played the "Stranger", it being his benefit night.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Blind Boy,* April 10; *The Comet,* January 16; *Ella Rosenberg,* April 20; *Fortress,* April 13; *Foundling of the Forest,* February 25; *The Slave,* April 3, 4 and 24; *Snowstorm,* or *Lowina of Tobolskow,* March 23, 27; April 1 and 4. *The Slave,* or *Love and Gratitude,* romantic play, founded on an interesting fact, by Morton, shows the following characters: Captain Malcolm, Governor of

[28a] Cf. p. 23, General Conditions of the Theatre.

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Surinam, Captain Clifton, Colonel Lindenburg, Mather Sharpset, Sara Sharpset, Mrs. Lindenburg, Gambia, Fogram, Stella Clifton, Miss van Tromp, Zelinda. Some of the characters of *The Snowstorm* are: Governor Brandt, Sturmwald, Count Orloff, Count Romanoff, Peterhoff, Lowina.

Besides these two plays just mentioned a number of others were new to Philadelphia: *The Apostate,* a new and popular tragedy, January 23, and February 2, Cooper in the leading rôle; two new plays of Diamond, *The Broken Sword,* melodramatic romance, December 26, 27 and 29; and *The Conquest of Taranto,* or *St. Claire's Eve,* drama interspersed with songs and dances, January 1, 2 and 3; *The Innkeeper's Daughter,* pathetic melodrama, March 4, 7, 16, and April 3. Other plays to note are *The Benevolent Fund,* or *May Day Dower,* December 12, from 1816 on always with the second title; the opera *Cabinet,* February 6 and 9; musical plays and comic operas prevailed during this season due to the presence of Incledon and Phillips. These were also numerous revivals of older plays, such as *Castle of Andalusia,* or *Bandetti of the Forest,* first time in eighteen years, December 7. Of plays of French origin we note only *Brother and Sister,* comic opera, January 12, 17, and February 16; and *Pygmalion,* or *The Animated Statue,* February 18, announced as a ballet.

Shakespeare is represented by *As You Like It,* December 17; *Catharine and Petrucchio,* January 26; *Hamlet,* January 24, and February 9; *Henry IV,* December 24; *Macbeth,* December 2, and March 24; *Merchant of Venice,* March 14; *Merry Wives of Windsor,* February 20; *Othello,* April 11; *Richard III,* December 22, and January 30; twelve performances of nine different plays.

The Olympic (Walnut).

On April 13, 1818, an announcement appeared of a coalition between Mr. Pepin, and Messrs Caldwell (Liverpool, Manchester, Dublin) and Entwistle, under whose management it will be conducted, to open Thursday, April 16, 1818, with the intention to produce in style and splendor and magnificence never equaled in the theatre. Spectacles, melodramas, "in which all the horses will be actively employed," are announced as in prepara-

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tion. Among them, *Marmion, Tekeli, Forty Thieves,* and *Lodoviska.* With this season the Walnut Street Theatre, while not relinquishing horsemanship and other circus performances, enters into active competition with the Chestnut Street Theatre. There seems to have been a combination of various companies, so the Alexandria and Washington companies are mentioned and first nights and last nights of the "Theatrical Company" are announced. Some of the actors as far as could be determined from the few and incomplete casts were: Caldwell, Entwistle, Phillips, Hutton, Garner, Tatnell, Campbell, Allen, Mrs. Entwistle, Miss Entwistle, Mrs. Allen, Miss Tilden, Mrs. Morris, and, as leader of the ballets, etc., Mons. Giraud. The plays began April 16, and continued to June 6, which date is announced as "the last night of the Theatrical Company". The price of admittance was, boxes one dollar, pit seventy-five cents, and gallery fifty cents.

Thirty-three theatrical nights are recorded, on which, as at the other theatre, two or more plays were given. The German plays during this brief season were: *Of Age to Morrow,* May 1, and *La Perouse,* May 1 and 5. To this must be added three performances of *La Perouse* at the same theatre during the winter season of the circus, before the coalition spoken of above took place, and *The Wanderer,* May 9, making seven performances of three different plays, all three from Kotzebue. The only two of possible or partial German origin were *Foundling of the Forest,* May 18, and *Tekeli,* April 16 and 28. Other plays to note were *Marmion,* May 20, 22 and 23, with which the announcement appears: "It ought to be known that *Marmion* owes its dramatic excellence to a worthy and respectable Alderman of this city." J. N. Barker is referred to. *Lodoviska,* "for the first time with horses", had a run of six performances between May 5, and June 1. There were a few plays of French origin, some of which had long ago become stock plays at the other theatre, such as *Three and Deuce, Lodoviska, Paul and Virginia,* also several ballets, pantomimes, such as *Pygmalion,* and dances. Announcements of the circus in French also appeared at this time, including the announcement of the arrival of Mons. and Madame Caussin from the circus in Paris. Shakespeare is represented by

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two plays, *Catharine and Petrucchio,* May 2, and *Hamlet,* May 14.

Numerous gardens and miscellaneous entertainments thrived at this time. At Vauxhall Garden there were readings, recitations and songs, under the direction of John Scotti. Philadelphia Garden, 828 Race Street; Camden Vauxhall Garden, Washington Union Garden, Kaighn's Point; Columbia Garden, Plumb Street in the Woods; Washington Hall, Mr. Maffey, director and inventor of the spectacle, picturesque and mechanical theatre. On April 7, there was a pantomime, described as a *Picturesque Metamorphosis,* and on May 7, *Panorama of Paris,* from the Strand, London. Masonic Hall, Philosophical Experiments by Mr. Stanislas, member of the Academy of Arts and Sciences of Paris, and Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, with Electricity, Hydrogen and Oxygen Gases, after the system of the celebrated Dr. Franklin. Lebanon Garden, under the direction of Wm. Smith, recitations and concert. Among the names appear Mr. Incledon and Bianchi Taylor from the King's Concert. At the Mansion House adjacent to Washington Hall, Mr. Caldwell gave a "reading of first and second book of Milton's 'Paradise Lost', previous to leaving for his Southern establishment". Hupfeld's annual concert, December 23, 1817, shows these names, Hupfeld, Blondeau and Burke; the composers represented were, Romberg, Fraenzl, Hunt, Mozart, Kreutzer and Bishop. At the Blondeau concert on February 24, 1818, one of the performers was Pfeiffer, and the composers represented were Gilles, Bishop, Gerowitz, Gluck, Devienne and Braham.

Summary for season 1817-1818, German plays: seventeen performances, eleven plays. Plays of possible or partial German origin, eleven performances, seven plays.

No plays were published in Philadelphia this year; Wilkens lists a Boston publication of *Pizarro,* a reprint of the London, 1799.[235] Thomas Dobson & Son, Philadelphia, published Schlegel's "Lectures on the History of Literature, Ancient and Modern", a reprint of the Edinburgh edition of the same year.[236] In the magazines there are no plays to note except a criticism of

[235] Cf. Wilkens, App. 164.
[236] Cf. Wilkens, App. 166.

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Müllner's tragedy, *Guilt* (*Die Schuld*), in *The Boston Atheneum*, taken from *The London Literary Gazette*.[237] Later on we find a dramatized version of Fonque's "Undine", very popular, and so it is of interest to note an announcement in *The Boston Atheneum:* "Mr. Soane has in the press 'Undine', a fairy romance, translated from the German of Baron de la Motte Fonqué."[238]

Twenty-sixth Season, Chestnut Street Theatre, November 5, 1818, to April 30, 1819.

The German plays for this season were: *Pizarro,* November 11, December 21, January 8, 18, 29, and April 12; *The Robbers,* November 16; *The Stranger,* November 26, and February 25; *The Virgin of the Sun,* November 27; *How to Die for Love,* January 2; *Deaf and Dumb,* February 27; *Of Age to Morrow,* March 22, and April 2; *Count Benyowski,* April 8; in all fifteen performances of eight different plays, seven from Kotzebue, and the usual one from Schiller.

With slight interruptions performances were given every day of the week, i. e., six performances. *Pizarro,* November 11, is announced "by particular desire", December 21, Cooper's benefit night, Cooper as Rolla; January 8, Mr. Wallack's first appearance as Rolla; January 18, again "by particular desire", Wood's benefit night, January 29, and April 12, Wallack as Rolla, the latter date being the first performance of a second engagement of Wallack. No cast is given with the performance of *The Robbers,* November 16. *The Stranger* is Thompson's translation, adapted to the stage by J. P. Kemble, November 26, Wood as the Stranger, and Mrs. Wood as Mrs. Haller. "First Savoyard, Mrs. Burke, in which character she will sing the original song (written by R. B. Sheridan, Esq.), I have a silent sorrow here." February 25, Mr. and Mrs. Bartley had the leading rôles, as well as in *Deaf and Dumb,* February 27. In *Count Benyowski,* April 8, Wood played the Count, and Barret, Stephanoff.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were *Adelgitha,* March 3; *Adrian and Orilla,* March 1; *Barmecide,* or *The Fatal Offspring,* melodrama in three acts, April 28 and 30,

[237] Cf. Goodnight, p. 132.

[238] *Athenaeum,* or *Spirit of the English Magazines,* Boston, IV, 208. Cf. Goodnight, p. 133, No. 369 and No. 377.

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ascribed to Milner, London. A partial cast shows these characters, Caliph Hasoun al Rashid—Giaffer, Grand Vizier—Gobdmon (slave), Zaida (wife to Giaffer). *Exile,* "founded on an interesting fact in the year 1804," November 20 and 22, December 2 and 7; *Foundling of the Forest,* December 1, *The Slave,* or *Love and Gratitude,* December 4 and April 7; Zelinda, one of the characters is announced with songs, one of which is "The Mocking Bird". *Snowstorm,* or *Lowina of Tobolkskov,* November 9, and December 4; *Wheel of Fortune,* March 5; *William Tell,* March 12.

Other plays to note are the tragedy *Apostate,* November 13, *Bellamira,* or *Fall of Tunis,* tragedy in five acts, for the first time in Philadelphia, November 25, and four additional performances; *Brutus,* or *The Fall of Tarquin,* by J. H. Payne, April 30; *Fazio,* or *The Italian Wife,* tragic play, January 4, and February 17. On November 12 an engagement of five Wyandot Indian chiefs is announced. *The Miller and His Men,* melodrama, February 22, and three additional performances, some of the characters of which are Count Fred Friburg, Lothair, Karl, Grindoff, Claudine, Ravina; the farce *Sleeping Draught,* January 13, with four additional performances. Plays of French origin to note are *Accusation,* or *The Family of d'Anglade,* first time in Philadelphia, March 17, with four additional performances; *The Forest of Bondy, Fortunes of War,* December 26.

Shakespeare is represented by *Catharine and Petrucchio,* three performances; *Coriolanus,* January 15; *Hamlet,* three performances; *Henry IV,* two performances; *King Lear,* three performances; *Richard II,* first time in Philadelphia, January 22; *Macbeth,* two performances; *Merchant of Venice,* three; *Merry Wives of Windsor,* November 12; *Othello,* two; *Richard III,* three, and *Romeo and Juliet,* two performances; twenty-six performances of twelve different plays.

The Olympic (Walnut).

On August 9, 1818, an announcement by Victor Pepin stated that the theatre had been erected by Pepin and Breshard for little less than $100,000, including ground, that it was well suited for union of equestrian and theatrical representation; he

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speaks of embarrassments, that the building is now the property of a citizen of Philadelphia, who has given him a lease of it with right of purchase within a limited period. He purposes the forming of a company to purchase with a capital of $40,000, $35,000 to purchase the theatre and $5,000 for repairs and alterations, shares to be $200 and six per cent. of net proceeds of the theatre to be equally divided among the stockholders, and each shareholder to have perpetual season ticket. On October 17, a meeting of the subscribers was called to receive the report of the committee appointed to draw up a deed, plans, etc., and on November 5, the theatre opened as circus, the same date as the opening of the Chestnut Street house. On November 12, the "Theatre opens theatrically" with *The Citizen,* and the farce *Irishman in London,* and closed "theatrically" on February 23, with *The Castle Spectre* and *The Liar,* but the circus performances and pantomimes continued. There were in all seventy-two nights, performances almost every night, as at the Chestnut Street house. The names of the actors as far as could be gathered from the partial casts were, Entwistle (English Opera House, London; Theatre Royal, Dublin), Dwyer, Blair, Robertson, Robinson, Green, Edwards, Campbell, Allen, Fox, Monier, Mrs. Riddle, Mrs. Allen, Mrs. Entwistle, Mrs. Jacobs, Mrs. Monier.

The German plays during this season were: *La Perouse,* November 17, and December 21; and *Abaellino,* February 11, three performances, of two plays, one from Kotzebue and one from Zschokke. The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Blind Boy,* December 16 and 19; *Ella Rosenberg,* January 1 and 4; *Foundling of the Forest,* January 21, and *Tekeli,* October 30, December 1 and 29, and February 4. Of French origin were the stock plays, *Village Lawyer, The Midnight Hour* and *La Fille Hussard,* the latter more as pantomime. New to America was *The Rendezvous,* January 14, and new to Philadelphia, *The Battle of New Orleans,* February 1, and *The Bride of Abydos,* by Diamond, founded on Byron's poem appeared for the first time at the Chestnut Street Theatre the next season. Shakespeare is represented by only one play, *Catharine and Petrucchio,* January 20.

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Other Theatres, Gardens, Concerts, Etc.

On April 24, 1819, C. Mayner announced at the Vauxhall Garden the erection of a "handsome stage, with suitable scenery". Various actors gave lectures and readings, especially the well-known one "Lecture on Heads". The announcements were irregular, but from July 5 to August 2 there were a number of plays. No German plays are included, but on July 5 there was an elaborate programme consisting of a grand concert, as recitation "Rolla's Address to the Peruvian Soldiers", by Mr. Dwyer, of the Olympic, concluding with the interlude, *The Father Outwitted,* or *Young Love Too Much for Old Caution,* from Lopez de Vega. New to America was Dibdin's musical farce, *Who's to Have Her?* on August 2. Shakespeare is not represented. Casts such as are given show the following names: Dwyer, Land, Durang, Monier, Robinson, Mrs. Monier, Mrs. Durang. At the other gardens no plays seem to have been given. On January 19, Mons. De Luce gave a grand concert at Masonic Hall. The announcement shows: Pianoforte, R. Taylor; first violins, Le Fille, de Luce, Everdell; second violins, Hupfeldt, Goetze, Frederick; violoncello, Hoffmann, Hoffmann, Jr.; contra bass, Cresset, Eberle; clarinets, Thibault, Margarete; flutes, Hopkins, Mercier; horns, Wheeler, Eberle, Jr.; trumpet, Schweitzer; bassoon, Coates. The composers represented were: Kreutzer, P. King, Haydn, Shield, Bishop, Urandsky, Boieldieu, Dr. Clark, Braham, Massoneau.

Summary for season 1818-1819, German plays, eighteen performances, ten plays. Plays of possible or partial German origin, twenty-four performances, twelve plays. Shakespeare, twenty-seven performances, twelve plays.

Wilkens gives but one publication for 1819, namely, a New York publication of *Pizarro,* reprint of the London edition, 1799.[289] No plays were discussed in any of the Philadelphia magazines, but there are many references of general interest in Philadelphia and other magazines. It is but natural that Kotzebue's death should be referred to, but both in the case of *The*

[289] Cf. Wilkens, App. 167.

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Analectic, Philadelphia,[240] and *The Boston Athenaeum,*[241] the account is taken from *The London Literary Gazette.* A short account also appeared in *The Boston Weekly Messenger:* "Accounts of Kotzebue, his assassination, and of Sand, his assassin."[242] In *The Portfolio,* Philadelphia, there is a notice of the first three volumes of Goethe's "Sketch of His Own Life, Poetry and Opinion,"[243] and a notice of founding in New York of a journal, *Der Deutsche Freund,* by the Rev. F. C. Schaeffer, "to promote the knowledge of German literature in this country and of American literature abroad."[244] The notice in *The Literary Intelligence* says: "The German idiom according to the nature of things must and will soon cease to be vernacular among us, but its existence may be prolonged to an indefinite period as a learned and literary language. This can only be done by encouraging the numerous descendants of Germans in this country, to whom the language is still familiar, to study it on a scientific point of view, and by this means add to the number of sources from which the present generation of Americans and their descendants are to derive instruction. . . ." This is followed on the next page by a short article urging closer relations between America and Germany.[245] After speaking of the great interest all concerns of the United States, including their progress in general literature are awakening in Germany, that the ablest professors in Germany are reviewing every new work appearing in America that this spirit of liberality should be reciprocated, the writer refers "to the laudable task undertaken by the Rev. Mr. Schaeffer, by means of various articles which he occasionally publishes in *The New York Daily Advertiser* under the head of 'The German Intelligencer', but these succinct notices are not sufficient; more is required to be done to show to the German nation that we are not insensible of the respect which they pay us. Our men of letters ought to exert themselves to convince them of our disposition to draw a close connection between the two

[240] *Analectic Magazine,* Philadelphia, XIV, 278.
[241] *Athenaeum,* or *Spirit of the English Magazines,* Boston, V, 321, 358.
[242] *Boston Weekly Messenger,* VIII, 528, 535, 564, 581.
[243] *Portfolio,* New Series, XXI, 425.
[244] *Portfolio,* New Series, XXII, 519 and 520.
[245] For the above references and others cf. Goodnight, pp. 125-137.

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countries. *As an independent nation, we have a right to form literary as well as political alliances, and every reason points to our selecting Germany in this respect as one of our nearest and best allies.* . . . By means of this valuable connection (namely translations), we shall be enabled to judge for ourselves of *the haughty pretensions of British literature by comparing it with that of a people, who with less pride, and no envy, hatred or uncharitableness, may boast of at least an equal share of genius and talents.* (Italics mine.) Indeed, if we consider only the men of the present time, Germany is entitled to claim a high superiority, for what living writer is there in Europe to be compared to the great Goethe?"

Twenty-seventh Season, Chestnut Street Theatre, September 27, 1819, to March 27, 1820.

The German plays for this season were: *Of Age to Morrow,* September 29, and November 17; *The Stranger,* October 8; *The Robbers,* October 9; *Pizarro,* January 10, 28 and 31; and *Abaellino,* March 4; eight performances in all of five different plays, three from Kotzebue and the usual play from Schiller and Zschokke. We note a smaller number of German plays this season, but beginning with the activities of a new theatre next season there is a remarkable increase which is maintained to the end of the period. *The Stranger,* October 8, is the same version as before, Kemble's adaptation of Thompson's translation, with Wheatley in the title rôle and the next day, October 9, as Maximilian, Count de Moor in *The Robbers,* Wood playing as usual Charles de Moor. The three preformances of *Pizarro* are due to James Wallack's engagement, continuing through eleven nights. He began his engagement with *Pizarro,* January 10, repeated it January 28, and ended it with the same play January 31, "by desire of many ladies and gentlemen."

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Adelgitha,* March 13; *Adrian and Orilla,* December 10; *Altorf,* first time in Philadelphia, January 5, tragedy by Fanny Wright. Wood states that "Miss Fanny Wright's tragedy of *Altorf* was received with general approbation; Cooper coming from New York for the night to appear as Altorf." The cast was as fol-

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lows: Eberard de Altorf (Captain of Swiss Army)—Cooper; Erlach, Baron de Altorf, and father to Eberard—Wood; De Rheinthall (a young Swiss soldier)—Wallack; Werner, Count de Rossberg—Hughes; Eustace, his attendant—Hathwell; Peasant—Crampton; Guards, Soldiers; Giovanna, wife of A.—Mrs. Entwistle; Rossina de Rossberg, daughter of Count—Mrs. Wood. *Barmecide,* or *The Fatal Offspring,* September 27; *Ella Rosenberg,* October 29, and February 19, with full cast showing these characters: The Elector, Colonel Montfert, Rosenberg, Captain Horn, Fluttermann, Commissioner of the Guard, Soldier, Stephen Crampton, Conrad, Messenger, Ella Rosenberg, Christiana, Mrs. Fluttermann, Female Peasants. *Exile,* October 4; *Foundling of the Forest,* November 1; *The Jew of Lübeck,* or *Heart of a Father,* pathetic melodrama, by Milner, author of *Barmecide,* March 13, for the first time in Philadelphia; partial casts show these characters: Prince Ferdinand, the Jew, Donamar, Magliano, Stefano, Van Fursten, Rosa; *Sigesmar, the Switzer,* or *The Helvetian Patriots,* for the first time in Philadelphia, October 1, 22, and November 12, by C. E. Walker, London; the characters are: Sigesmar, a Swiss noble; Arnold, Austrian Governor; Edric, Swiss cottager; Francis, Knapsack, Austrian soldier; Waldemar, Patriot leader; Steinhalt, Eugenia, daughter of Arnold; *Snowstorm,* or *Lowina of Tobolskow,* October 8.

Beside those mentioned above we note a number of plays new to Philadelphia and of general interest. First we note another play dealing with the Swiss: *Fredolfo,* tragedy by Rev. R. C. Maturin, February 7 and 9; with complete cast: Swiss, Fredolfo—Wood; Adelmar—Wallack; Berthold—Wheatley; Waldo—Darby; Page—King; Minstrel—Crampton; Prior—Hathwell; Monk—Jackson; Attendants—Parker and Martin; Soldiers; Citizens; Urilda—Mrs. Wood. Austrians: Count Wellenberg—Hughes; Ulric—Carter; Guards; Soldiers. Wood says: "*Fredolfo* was again tried and failed."[246] *The Bride of Abydos,* November 13; Payne's *Brutus,* or *Fall of Tarquin,* January 6, and four additional performances. New were *Carib, the Chief,* January 19 and 21, ascribed to Horace Twiss, London, 1818-1819; *Falls of Clyde,* melodrama, by George Soane, Janu-

[246] Cf. Wood, p. 235.

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ary 1, 28, and March 24; *Ruffian Boy,* melodrama, by Wm. Moncrief, March 8, 22 and 27, and by the same author *Wanted a Wife,* or *A Checque on my Banker,* October 29, and three additional performances. We note this season four plays based on Scott, *Guy Mannering,* October 20; *Heart of Midlothian,* pathetic melodrama, founded on *Tales of my Landlord,* by T. Dibdin, October 15; *Lady of the Lake,* January 7, and *Marmion,* November 19, 22, and January 26, announced "as altered and adapted to representations without the use of horses". Popular were also J. Pocock's *Robinson Crusoe,* or *The Bold Buccaneers,* melodrama; *Rob Roy MacGregor,* musical drama, and *Innkeeper's Daughter,* founded on Southey's favorite *Tale of Mary, the Maid of the Inn,* February 4, 9 and 16. On December 11, under the title *Melologue* we read: "Mrs. Bartley will recite a poem written expressly for her by Thomas Moore, expressing the effects of natural music on the natural character, in the course of which will be introduced the Airs of Greece, Switzerland, Spain, Ireland and America." *The Devil's Bridge,* October 11 and 27, melodramatic opera, music by Braham & Horn, Count Belino—Mr. Keene, in which he will sing "William Tell", the patriot of Switzerland, composed by Braham. And last we note *The Miller and His Men,* melodrama, by J. Pocock, December 27; the characters of which may indicate a play of German origin: Count Frederick Friburg; Kelmar, an old cottager; Karl (servant to Count Friburg); Grindoff (the miller); Millers; Claudine (Karl's daughter); Ravina. Of French origin we note only two plays, *The Green Man,* comedy, which really appeared for the first time in Philadelphia December 18, 1818, and this season October 29, and December 18, 1819, it is announced as by R. Jones, translated from the French, as given in London, New York, Baltimore and Boston; *A Short Reign and a Merry One,* February 26 and 28, translated from the French, London, 1819-1820.

Shakespeare is represented by *Coriolanus,* January 12; *Hamlet,* November 24, and December 23; *Henry IV,* October 22; *Macbeth,* November 17, and December 15; *Merry Wives of Windsor,* December 1, and March 24; *Much Ado About Nothing,* September 29; *Richard III,* November 20, and March 10, twelve performances of seven plays. To this should be added the *School*

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of Shakespeare, entertainment in five acts, for the first time in America: I. *Much Ado About Nothing.* II. *Merchant of Venice,* Trial Scene. III. *Henry IV,* first part, Robbery Scene. IV. *Catharine and Petrucchio.* V. *Romeo and Juliet,* fifth act. A pathetic appeal was made on March 24 by Warren,[247] who offered on his second benefit night *Merry Wives of Windsor.* After speaking of the failure of the first benefit night he hopes that he may receive a share of that patronage which even in this failing season has not been withheld from others, and surely

> " 'Tis no sin for a man
> To labor in his vocation."

Other Theatres, Gardens, Concerts, Etc.

No notices of plays at the Olympic (Walnut) appeared, but Tivoli Garden, formerly Columbia Garden, in Market Street near the Waterworks, adds a summer theatre. At first there had been concerts under the direction of L'Hullier, the manager was Stanislas. The announcements included "Songs, Music and Legerdemain, Philosophical Illustrations, Interpreter to the Professor, Mr. Mestayer. Admission 25 cents, Curtain at eight, exhibitions every evening." On May 29, 1820, the theatre was regularly opened with plays, Legerdemain being added every other evening. A curious notice appeared on August 2: "Nitrous Oxide, or Exhilerating Gas, as the quantity of Gas in preparation will be limited, persons desirous of it, are requested to apply at the bar for tickets of that privilege." Complete casts do not appear in the papers, and only the following names occur: Mestayer, Champion, King, Murray, Allen, Porter, Laidley, Miss Mestayer, Mrs. Riddle, Mrs. Williams. The plays consisted mostly of farces, light comedies, pantomimes and ballets with an occasional drama or melodrama. One German play was given three times, *How to Die for Love,* June 23, August 19, and September 27. Of the plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Ella Rosenberg,* ten performances; and *Tekeli,* September 7; and *Miller and His Men,* September 5. Shakespeare is not represented. At the Vauxhall Garden no plays

[247] For an account of William Warren, the manager, cf. p. 10.

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were given in 1820, the Pavillion Theatre having been destroyed in the autumn of 1819 in a serious riot.[248]

Summary for the season 1819-1820: German plays, eleven performances, six plays. Plays of possible or partial German plays, thirteen performances, ten plays.

The publications for 1820 listed by Wilkens are: Kotzebue's one act comedy, *The Confession,* Philadelphia, a translation of *Die Beichte,* in Almanach für 1806, Leipzig, 1805; and a New York publication of Dunlap's version of *Abaellino.*[249] There is little to note in the magazines of Philadelphia or elsewhere bearing directly on this subject, but we note in *The Analectic Magazine,* Philadelphia, *Kotzebuana,* from a collection of brief extracts from Kotzebue's works, compiled by Mr. Machler, of Berlin.[250] *The Portfolio,* Philadelphia, has a short article urging more study of the German language in America.[251] The note in "Literary Intelligence" directs attention again to the subject of German literature and refers in this connection to an article in the same number of *The Portfolio* on the "Freedom of the Press", ascribed to the celebrated Gentz (translated from *The Vienna Quarterly Review,* for January, 1818), *Portfolio,* pp. 183-223. "The ingenuity and perseverance of the German writers, has long been proverbial, and they deserve more particularly the regard of Americans, because *theirs is the only country in which our efforts in literature are favorably received.* Several distinguished gentlemen in Philadelphia have cultivated the idiom of our learned friends with assiduity and success. In New York *The German Intelligencer* has given new value to the useful columns of Mr. Dwyght's *Daily Advertiser.* The literati of that city have also established a 'Teutonic Lyceum of Literature'. Mr. Schaeffer, aided by many learned associates, has begun to publish *The German Correspondent,* a journal which will comprise the most recent and

[248] A report in regard to the riot appeared October 30, 1820. For an interesting account of the cause and incidents of the riot and of Vauxhall Garden and also of Tivoli Garden cf. two articles by "Penn" in the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin,* June 26 and June 27, 1905.

origin, twenty-nine performances, twelve plays. Shakespeare

[249] Cf. Wilkens, App. 169 and 170.

[250] *Analectic Magazine,* Philadelphia, Series II, I, 252; also listed by Goodnight, p. 137.

[251] *Portfolio,* New Series, XXIII, 255.

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authentic intelligence respecting the civil, scientific and literary state of Germany." A later number also has "character of Hamlet," translated from Wilhelm Meister's *Apprenticeship* (*Lehrjahre*), by Goethe.[252]

Twenty-eighth Season, Chestnut Street Theatre Company (Temporarily Playing at the Walnut Street House), November 10, 1820, to April 18, 1821, With Summer Season, July 2 to 14, 1821.

On April 2, 1820, while the company was in Baltimore, their Philadelphia house burned down. Plans were soon made to rebuild the theatre on the old site, and in the meantime a lease offered by the proprietors of the Walnut Street house was accepted. The company was here for two seasons, which Wood speaks of as failing seasons, partly attributable to the imperfect arrangements for dramatic performances at the Walnut Street house. But the greatest loss was the library.[253]

The German plays for this season were *Of Age to Morrow,* November 11, and February 23; *Lovers' Vows,* December 29; *The Robbers,* January 3, and *The Stranger,* March 3; five performances in all of four different plays, three from Kotzebue and the usual one from Schiller. The smaller number of German plays coincides with the failing seasons Wood speaks of, but for all Philadelphia our list is considerably increased by the opening of the Winter Tivoli Theatre. *Lovers' Vows* is announced as "the first time in eight years, altered from Kotzebue by Mrs. Inchbald, Frederick by the young gentleman, who performed Douglass. The young gentleman referred to was Forrest, at this time sixteen years old." Wood remarks that he (Forrest) added to his reputation by a spirited effort as Frederick in *Lovers' Vows,* and adds that he was about "to take a wide range through the Western theatres".[254] In *The Robbers,* January 3, Wood

[252] *Portfolio,* New Series, XXIV, 173; both of these listed by Goodnight, pp. 138, 139.

[253] "The library and music were of an extent and value unknown to any other American theatre." Cf. Wood, pp. 236, 246 and 248. Cf. also for former references to the fire and the changes made in the Walnut Street house, pp. 11, 13, with notes 29 and 31.

[254] Cf. Wood, pp. 250-252.

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played Charles de Moor. *The Stranger,* March 3, is announced as "the favorite comedy", Barnes having selected this for his sixth evening.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *The Comet,* January 29, and April 1; *Ella Rosenberg,* February 26; *Exile,* March 9 and 12, and *Foundling of the Forest,* December 4. Plays new to Philadelphia or of general interest were: *Actress of All Work,* February 5; *The Author's Night,* or *The Bailiffs Outwitted,* a farce by H. M. Murtrie, M. D., March 7; *Heart of Midlothian,* December 6; *Ivanhoe,* or *The Jew's Daughter,* January 1, first time in Philadelphia, and repeated January 5, and April 2; *Riches,* or *The Wife and Brother,* April 13, Mr. Kean in the title rôle. *The Ruffian Boy,* December 2, 6 and 27; *Steward,* or *Fashion and Feeling,* comedy, founded on a celebrated play of Holcroft, December 8, and March 17. *Virginius,* or *The Liberation of Rome,* tragedy, by Sheridan Knowles, Cooper as Virginius, December 15, 18 and 23; *The Wandering Boy,* or *The Castle of Olival,* March 5.

Of French origin we note: *Child of the Mountain,* or *The Deserted Mother,* by H. M. Murtrie, M. D., and according to Wood taken from the French, February 10, and March 7; "with entire new music, composed expressly for the piece by A. P. Heinrich, Esq., professor of music." *The Fate of Calais,* historical pathetical melodrama, originally written in French by M. Victor, translated by F. Dibdin, for the first time in America, December 26; *Henri Quatre,* or *Paris in the Olden Times,* comedy, by Thos. Morton, first time in Philadelphia, November 17, and repeated November 20 and 24; *Therese,* or *The Orphan of Geneva,* tragedy, by John Howard Payne, from the French piece of that name by Victor, Paris, London, for the first time in Philadelphia, July 2; *The Vampire,* romantic melodrama, partly taken from the celebrated piece, which has for weeks attracted all Paris, in three parts, founded on the celebrated tale, *The Vampire,* or *The Bride of the Isles,* for the first time in Philadelphia, November 22, and repeated November 24, 29, December 8, and July 14. A partial cast shows: The Vampire—H. Wallack; Lady Margaret —Mrs. Wood; Unda (Spirit of the Water)—Mrs. Jefferson; Ariel (Spirit of the Air)—Miss Seymour.

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Shakespeare is represented by *As You Like It,* January 13, and February 9; *Catharine and Petrucchio,* December 22; *Hamlet,* December 20, and January 13; *King Lear,* January 22, 29, and April 14; *Macbeth,* December 16, and January 20; *Merry Wives of Windsor,* March 15; *Merchant of Venice,* January 12, and February 2; *Othello,* December 29, January 10, 31, and April 1; *Richard III,* December 23, January 8, 15, April 4 and 9; *Romeo and Juliet,* February 21, twenty-three performances of ten plays.

Other Theatres, Gardens, Concerts, Etc.

As noted above the Walnut or Olympic was occupied by the Chestnut Street company. At the Vauxhall Garden there were a few plays mostly pantomimes, comic operas, farces and during the summer, music and fireworks, etc. A Grand Moving Theatre or Mechanical Theatre, manipulated by J. L. Boqueta is announced 25 feet broad, 12 feet high and 18 feet deep; the orchestra was under the direction of the Messrs. Eberle. In December Dannenberg's concert is announced with Ch. F. Hupfeld as leader. The composers represented were: Mozart, Corri, Haydn, Shield, Paer, Rimbault and Dressler; and soloists, de Luce and Dannenberg. On October 24, 1821, Mr. Stanislas opened his New Theatre under the name of "Winter Tivoli Theatre", on Prune Street between Fifth and Sixth. Performances every evening (Sundays excepted). Season tickets for one month $3.00, two months $5.00, five months $10.00. Lower and upper boxes, 50 cents, pit 25 cents. Colored people admitted in the gallery at 25 cents. The following actors appeared here: Williams, Rae, Pelby, Morrison, Monier, Adamson, Willis, Stanislas, Bloom, Bard, Porter, Campbell, Thornton, Simpson, and the ladies: Mrs. Williams, Riddle, Mestayer, Allen, Bloom, Miss Riddle and Miss Mestayer and the Misses French.

Winter Tivoli Theatre, October 24, 1820, to May 9, 1821, Followed by Season at the Summer Theatre in the Summer Garden on Market near Centre Square, May 28, 1820, to September 14, 1821.

The German plays for this company were: *Abaellino,* November 1, 9, and March 15; *How to Die for Love,* September 13; *Of Age to Morrow,* January 30, 31, February 7, 28, April 6,

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July 2, 10, 21, August 16, September 6; *La Perouse,* seven performances; *Pizarro,* January 23, 29, February 7, 27, March 19, May 2, 30, June 1, July 9, 12, 19, August 30; *The Stranger,* January 25, 31, February 12, March 26, April 24, June 7, thirty-nine preformances of six different plays, five from Kotzebue and the usual one from Zschokke. *Abaellino, the Great Bandit,* is announced as "the much admired play, the celebrated play." We note during the season of this company not only the preponderance of German plays, but two German plays the same evening. So *Of Age to Morrow* follows *The Stranger* on January 31, and *Pizzaro* on February 7. It saw ten performances, and is announced as "the much admired opera translated from the German." Mr. Williams, from the Walnut Street Theatre, became stage manager and appears in the rôle of Frederick. *La Perouse,* or *Desolate Island,* saw seven performances and is announced as a "Grand Serious Pantomime". *Pizarro* had twelve performances, and we note it given on two successive nights, very unusual, if not unprecedented up to this time. It was announced as "the celebrated play, written by Richard B. Sheridan," or "Sheridan's celebrated play." Some of the performances were due to Mr. Pelby, from the Boston Theatre, who is mentioned as playing Rolla, July 9, 12 and 19, with Mrs. Pelby as Cora. *The Stranger* was given six times, it is always announced as "Kotzebue's celebrated play".

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Adelgitha,* May 9; *Blind Boy,* February 2, March 12, April 16, August 16, 23, and September 19; *Ella Rosenberg,* July 25; *Foundling of the Forest,* February 8; *Miller and His Men,* August 29; *Snow Storm,* or *Lowina of Tobolskov,* six performances, in ten performances of six plays.

Other plays of interest were: *The American Captive,* or *Siege of Tripolis,* patriotic drama by M. N. Noah, of Boston; also another patriotic play, *The Glory of Columbia,* by Wm. Dunlap, February 22; *Kenilworth,* and *Lady of the Lake,* the pantomime; *Obi, Three-fingered Jack; Rudolph,* or *The Robbers of Calabra,* April 27; and new to Philadelphia, *Walace,* historical tragedy. M. N. Noah was also represented by *She Would be a*

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Soldier, or *The Plains of Chippewa,* on April 3, and later by *The Fortress of Sorento,* historical drama from the French opera of *Leonora.* Besides this play of French origin we note the oft repeated *Don Juan, Three and Deuce,* and also *The Indian Princess,* or *La Belle Sauvage,* by James N. Barker.

Shakespeare is represented by *Macbeth,* July 30; *Richard III,* August 16, and *Romeo and Juliet,* July 23, three performances of three plays.

Summary for the season 1820-21: German plays, forty-four performances, eight different plays. Plays of possible or partial German origin, twenty-two performances, eight different plays. Shakespeare plays, twenty-six performances, ten different plays.

Wilkens lists no publications of plays for 1821, and the two numbers given, one from C. C. Sturm and the other from J. H. D. Zschokke, do not interest us here. M. Carey & Son, the booksellers, announce in the papers "Inchbald's British Theatre," twenty-five volumes; "Modern Theatre," ten volumes, and "Farces," seven volumes. There is nothing bearing directly on our subject in the magazines of Philadelphia. Of interest, however, are, in *The Literary Gazette,* Philadelphia, a notice of *The German Correspondent,* a journal just founded in New York, the purpose of which is "to present a view of the civil, literary and scientific state of Germany." This periodical and its purpose has already been referred to above with the abstract from *The Portfolio.* The contents of the first number of the new series is given, including a review of a translation of Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel" and the "Lady of the Lake", by Dr. Stoock, of Bremen, an indignant answer to the remarks of Mr. Hodgskin, an Englishman that lately published a volume of "Travels Through Germany," followed by translations of German reviews of American publishers. A note on the uprising of young men in Freiburg in Breisgau, Germany, caused by the first presentation there of Schiller's drama *The Robbers.* "*The Robbers* was prohibited in Freiburg. Such terrible impressions are a wonderful tribute to the energy of Schiller's pen, which like Rousseau's may be said to *burn the paper.*" Essay, German, popular and traditionary literature, with a translation of a story, "Peter Klaus,

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the Goatherd," the source of Irving's "Rip Van Winkle."[255] *The New Monthly Magazine,* Philadelphia and New York edition, has biographical sketches of German authors, of Körner and Schiller, essays on Germany, past and present, its politics and culture, on German criticism, its mystical tendencies.[256] The writer introduces the story of "The Goatherd," which occupies two pages of the magazine, by these remarks: "These tales have been collected and illustrated by more than one careful hand, but more particularly by Otman; and we shall make no apology for presenting to the notice of our readers one of these wild flowers, which Geoffry Crayon has with merciless hand taken from its native soil, and transplanted without acknowledgment into the more cultivated parterre of his sketch-book, under the title of 'Rip Van Winkle.' " "Undine" had not yet appeared on the Philadelphia stage as a play, but indication of interest in the story is shown by references in magazines of other cities to it, such as in *The Quarterly Review,* Boston, where we find a notice of "Undine", by Fouque, translated by George Soane.[257] *The Portfolio,* Philadelphia, has nothing of interest to us.[258]

Twenty-eighth Season, Chestnut Street Theatre Company (Temporarily Playing at the Walnut Street House), November 13, 1821, to April 24, 1822.

The German plays for this season were: *Of Age to Morrow,* November 16; *Pizarro,* December 3 and 7; *The Robbers,* December 24, April 3; *Rugantino,* April 12; *Undine,* January 1, 2, 4, 7, 9, 12, 18, February 6 and 16; fifteen performances of five plays, ten from Kotzebue, the usual one from Schiller, one based on Zschokke's *Abaellino,* and one based on Fouque's *Undine,* which was new to Philadelphia.

During this season there was a performance each week-day. The names at this time as gathered from the casts given in the

[255] Cf. *Literary Gazette,* Philadelphia, I, 85; I, 416, and I, 636.

[256] Cf. *New Monthly Magazine,* Philadelphia and New York (reprint from the *New Monthly Magazine;* also see note 256), I, 65; I, 206; I, 294; I, 401.

[257] Cf. *Quarterly Review,* Boston, XXV, 276.

[258] For all the material on any lines of literature and culture cf. Goodnight, pp. 141-142, Nos. 475-501.

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plays were: Warren, Wood, Burke, Wheatley, Darley, Francis, Blisset, Hathwell, Johnson, Jefferson, H. Wallack, Nichols and Murray. The ladies were: Simpson, Darley, Fulmer, Francis, Bloxton, Burke, Seymour and Wallack. But for the popularity of *Undine,* as indicated by a run of nine performances, the otherwise recognized German plays would show only six performances of four different plays, just about the same as the last season. *Of Age to Morrow* is announced as a musical farce. In *Pizarro,* December 3, Mr. Pelby played Rolla, while in December it was at the last minute substituted for *Hamlet. The Robbers* was given twice this season, the cast showing both times Wood as "Charles de Moor" and H. Wallack as Francis, while on December 24 Warren had the rôle of Maximilian, and on April 3 Wheatley filled this rôle. In *Rugantino* we have a revival of former seasons. It is now announced simply as a melodrama, while during the season it first appeared its German origin was acknowledged. It appeared at the Chestnut Street house for the first time during the season 1809-1810, and again at the Olympic 1813-1814.[259] The new play of German origin was *Undine,* or *Spirit of the Waters,* announced as a melodrama, for the first time in America, with only a very partial cast, giving only two characters: Sir Hulbrand of Ringstetten and Kuhleborn, spirit of the waters. It was given nine times in rapid succession, and January 12 it was given as a "first piece for the accommodation of the younger part of the audience." While G. Soane's translation had appeared in London as early as 1818, no reprints of this translation seem to have appeared in America before 1824, that is not until the popularity of the dramatized story had attracted attention to it.[260]

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *The Comet,* December 18, and February 6; *Ella Rosenberg,* March 4 and 20; *Foundling of the Forest,* December 20; *Sigesmar, the Switzer,* February 22, and April 8; *Snow Storm,* or *Lowina of Tobolskov,* April 8; *The Wandering Boys,* or *The Castle of Olival,* March 14, 18 and 27. Of French origin we note, *Brother and Sister,* petite opera from the French, February 13, and March 11;

[259] Cf. p. 142, season 1809-1810, and p. 192, season 1813-1814.
[260] Cf. Wilkens, App. Nos. 179 and 180.

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Therese, or *The Orphan of Geneva,* November 28, December 15, and April 13; *De Montfort,* or *The Force of Hatred,* for the first time in Philadelphia, January 14, Mr. Wood's benefit, Wood as De Montfort; *Henri Quatre,* November 19. Other plays to note this season are: *Jusef Caramalli,* or *The Siege of Tripolis,* patriotic melodrama, for the first time in Philadelphia, by M. N. Noah, January 25 and 30, the same play as announced last season at the Tivoli as *The American Captives,* or *The Siege of Tripolis. The Spy,* or *The Tale of the Neutral Ground,* drama, April 23, for the first time in America. *Damon and Pythias,* December 14, 17, 19, 21, and January 4 and 11. Animals begin to invade the precincts of the Chestnut Street Company, as indicated by the announcement of *Forty Thieves,* "in course of which will appear a living elephant." Visits by Indian chiefs, Omahas, Kanzas and Ottoes was also announced as one of the attractions.

Shakespeare was represented by *Catharine and Petrucchio,* December 12; *Henry IV,* March 16; *Macbeth,* November 26, and *Romeo and Juliet,* December 31, four performances of four different plays, a great contrast with the last season as well as with the condition in the Tivoli Theatre for this season, which as we shall see shows twenty-six performances of six plays. Wood mentions Booth's first appearance, namely in their Baltimore season on November 2, in *Richard III.*

Other Theatres.

At a place called the Market Street Theatre, between Fourth and Fifth, Mr. Wilson announced rope and wire dancing and tumbling, but no plays were found advertised. Vauxhall Garden seems to have remained closed after the riots of 1821, or at least no plays are announced. It was offered at public sale on March 27, 1822. "E. E. Warwick informs lovers of harmony" of the opening of his "Free and Easy" on August 31, under the name of Saloon of Apollo; entertainments are announced for Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays. No plays or farces appear to have been given. The announcement includes "Mr. M'Cleary in original American songs, sketches from Mathews' mail coach adventures and other vocal talents."

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Haydn's grand oratorio of the "Creation" was performed for the first time June, 1822, by the Musical Fund Society, and a second rendering occurred on November 20, 1822.

The Prune Street Theatre, or Tivoli Winter Theatre, September 24, 1821, to May 18, 1822, and the Summer Theatre, May 23 to September 10, 1822.

The German plays for this season of this company were: *Abaellino,* October 9, and November 11; *Of Age to Morrow,* November 8, March 16, 19, 21, April 6, 16, June 17, 24, 28, and July 5; *La Perouse,* December 4, 8, May 1, June 4, 6; *Pizarro,* December 17, March 15, 25, April 8, 27, May 15, June 7, July 24, August 2, and September 10; *Robbers,* August 20; *Rugantino,* February 9; *Self-Sacrifice,* January 30, 31, and February 11; *The Stranger,* January 8, 24, September 3; *The Wanderer,* or *Rights of Hospitality,* February 12; thirty-six performances of nine different plays, seven from Kotzebue, two based on Zschokke, and the usual one from Schiller. *Abaellino,* or *The Great Bandit,* was announced as "the celebrated play," Porter in the title rôle. *Of Age to Morrow,* with the additional new title of *Love's Disguises,* was very popular this season. In *Pizarro,* Pelby appeared as Rolla, March 15 and 25; April 27, "Rolla, by a young gentleman of Philadelphia, his first appearance on the stage," this was Eberle, Jr. On May 15 Stone chose it for his benefit, and on June 7 Hutton made his first appearance as Rolla.

The Robbers, August 30, has the additional title *Love and Vengeance. Self-Sacrifice* is announced as the first time in America, January 30, as a melodrama with the additional title *The Maid of the Cottage;* no other references occur, although it was played three times within a short period. Kotzebue's play in English form, under the title "Self-Immolation", or "The Sacrifice of Love", was published in 1799 in Boston, as a reprint of the London edition, 1799.[261] In *The Stranger,* Porter played the title rôle. *The Wanderer,* or *Rights of Hospitality,* February 12, was announced as the first time in Philadelphia, but it had appeared in the Chestnut Street Theatre March 6, 1809, and again at the Olympic (Walnut Street), May 9, 1818. It is

[261] *Der Opfertod,* Schauspiel in drei Akten, Leipzig, 1798. Cf. also Wilkens, Appendix No. 43.

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announced as "Kotzebue's celebrated melodrama," in three acts, translated and altered from the German by Charles Kemble and performed at the Royal Covent Garden upwards of fifty nights, with unbounded applause.[262] Mr. Maas (one of the few German names) had chosen it for his benefit.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Blind Boy,* October 10, February 8, June 21, July 9, 16 and 27; *Ella Rosenberg,* September 24, 1821, December 3, January 12, February 19, April 18, June 10, July 11 and 19, August 2 and September 5, 1822. *The Exile,* April 29, and May 3; *Forest of Rosenwald,* or *The Travellers Benighted,* a new melodrama, for the first time in Philadelphia, October 30. The partial cast shows only a few characters: Raymond (Baron Lindenberg), Theodore, Robert, Marguerite and Bleeding Nun, November 1, 8 and 13, December 7, 26, January 24, and February 11. *Foundling of the Forest* is announced as a play in three acts, interspersed with music, September 29, November 20, May 10; *Miller and His Men,* October 19, 29, December 18, January 28, May 8, 29, and June 6; *Snow Storm,* or *Lowina of Tobolskov,* October 18, January 11, and April 20; *Wandering Boys,* October 24, and July 20, 1822.

Other plays of interest were: *A Rival of Dunlap's Battle of Bunker Hill,* given on two patriotic occasions, February 22, and March 4, "in honor of accession to the Presidential chair of the United States." *Damon and Pythias,* or *The Tort of Friendship,* historical tragedy, December 9, 14, March 16, 18 and 19. We note that this same play had six performances the same season and the dates of December 14 and 19, coincide in both theatres. *The Grecian Captive,* or *The Fall of Athens,* a patriotic melodrama, founded on the present struggle of the Greeks, for the first time in Philadelphia, scenery by Rice and music by R. Eberle, June 29, July 2, 6 and 8. *The Heroes of Sidonia,* or *The Rose of Monastir,* August 12, 13, 14 and 26: *Marmion,* March 9 and 13, by James N. Barker; *Marion,* or *The Hero of Lake George,* patriotic melodrama, by M. N. Noah, February 12, 22, March 11, and May 23. It is of interest to note that the same play was given by the Chestnut Street company at the Walnut Street Theatre on February 22, and March 14. *Montrano,*

[262] Cf. season 1808-1809, p. 138; also season 1817-1818.

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or *Who's the Traitor?*, dramatic romance, April 20, 23, and May 4. *Lady of the Lake* continues to attract attention, October 17, and November 9; *Oblacta,* or *The Indian Heroine,* melodrama in three acts, by Lewes Deffebach, March 30, for the first time in Philadelphia. *The Rose of Aragon,* or *The Vigil of St. Marc,* melodrama by B. H. Judah, of New York, June 10, 13, 14, 21, 22, 25, and July 5; for the first time in Philadelphia. *Sultana,* or *A Trip to Turkey,* melodrama, founded on Lord Byron's *Don Juan,* April 13. *Swedish Patriotism,* or *The Signal Fire,* melodrama, first time in America, from Covent Garden, London, scenery by Rea, and music composed by J. F. Pohellas. The cast is given as follows: Colonel Walstein—Monier; Captain Albert —Porter; Cokaski (farmer)—Williams; Walter (peasant)—Walter; Ulrica—Miss K. Durang; Pauline—Miss C. Durang; Briska—Mrs. Mestayer, December 8 and 9. *State Secrets,* or *Public Men in Private Life,* historical drama, first time in Philadelphia, November 13. *The Sea Serpent,* or *The Yankee Hoax,* a "Jeu d'Esprit in three acts by Wm. Croff, Esq., of Charleston, S. C., performed in that city for six nights with unbounded applause", April 9. *Rudolph,* or *The Robbers of Calabria,* melodrama, Porter as Rudolph, December 18.

Of French origin were *The Duel,* or *A Week After Wedlock,* petite comedie, translated from the French by J. Hutton, comedian, March 30, and April 3; *The Vampire,* February 1 and 5;[263] *Therese,* February 23, and March 4. Also revival of *The Toothache,* February 16, and March 13, and the pantomime *La Fille Housard,* February 4, 6, March 5 and 14.

Shakespeare was represented by *Catharine and Petrucchio,* December 29, May 9, 20, and July 19; *Hamlet,* January 10; *Macbeth,* October 15, 22, December 19; *Othello,* November 30, January 10, April 10, July 31; *Richard III,* November 2, 6, 19, 25, December 22, April 16, 22, August 1, 10, 16 and 28; *Romeo and Juliet,* September 26, November 7 and 20, twenty-six performances of six different plays. The numerous Shakespeare plays were due to the visits of Hutton of Charleston, Richmond and New Orleans, of Forrest, Mrs. Baker and Pelby and on

[263] Cf. season 1820-1821, Chestnut Street company.

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November 2, 1821, was announced "Master George Frederick Smith, ten years old, having performed in New York, Boston, Charleston, Augusta and other theatres, has drawn crowded houses, is engaged for four nights." He appeared in *Richard III*, November 2 and 5; *Mountaineers*, November 3; *Douglass*, November 5, and *Romeo and Juliet*, November 7, his benefit night. Pelby, who also played with the Chestnut Street Company at the Walnut Street Theatre, began his engagement at the Tivoli Theatre December 28, 1821, with *Bertram*, and appeared also in the *Mountaineers, Catharine and Petrucchio, The Curfew, Douglass* and *Hamlet*.

Summary for the season of 1821-1822 for all the theatres: German plays fifty-one performances, ten different plays. Plays of possible or partial German origin fifty-two performances, ten different plays. Shakespeare plays thirty performances of seven different plays.

No publication of any play is listed for 1822 and Wilkens mentions only one publication (La Motte Fouque, Baron F. H. C. de), "Minstrel Love," from the German, by George Soane, New York, 1822, a reprint of the London publication of 1821 (Sängerliebe, 1816).[264] The magazines of Philadelphia have nothing bearing directly on the plays or the theatre of Philadelphia, but German literature is not neglected, and we note in *The Portfolio*, a review of a translation of Grillparzer's *Sappho*, by Black, 1820.[265] In *The New Monthly Magazine*, New York and Boston, appears a criticism of Schiller's *Don Carlos* and also on the German drama, including the plays of Schiller, Kotzebue and Iffland.[266]

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[264] Cf. Wilkens, App. 173.

[265] Cf. *Portfolio*, New Series, XXVII, 316.

[266] Cf. *New Monthly Magazine*, New York and Boston, III, 56 and 145. For numerous other references to German lyric poets with translations to Wieland, Goethe, Schiller, Grimm, Schlegel, Humboldt, Richter and Herder cf. Goodnight, Nos. 502-529.

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Twenty-ninth Season, Chestnut Street Theatre, Rebuilt on the Site of the One Destroyed by Fire, December 2, 1822, to April 30, 1823.

On November 27, 1822, announcement was made of the opening of the rebuilt Chestnut Street Theatre, under the name of "New Theatre". Attention is called in the announcement by the managers, Warren and Wood, to the many improvements, such as two doors of entrance to the pit from Sixth Street, a gallery entrance from Carpenter Street, room for two thousand people, with principal front on Chestnut Street.[267] The doors opened at 5.15 and the curtain rose at 6.15. Warren and Wood, the managers, had sublet the Walnut Street house to New York people.[268] Their own theatre opened on December 2, 1822, with the ever popular *School for Scandal* and *The Wandering Boys.*

The German plays for the season were: *Of Age to Morrow,* December 5; *Fraternal Discord,* January 20; *Pizarro,* December 14, January 17, 23, and April 12; *The Robbers,* January 4; *Wood Daemon,* January 1, 6 and 13; ten performances of five plays, three from Kotzebue, the usual one from Schiller and one of unknown source.

Fraternal Discord, January 20, is in reality the same as *Reconciliation,* or *Birthday,* Dibdin's comedy version and not Dunlap's play in five acts. Under the name of *Birthday* it was given three times at the Tivoli the same season.[269] This was the third night of I. Wallack's engagement of seven nights, including benefit night. The plays in order for this engagement were: *Pizarro,* January 17, *Coriolanus,* January 18; *Fraternal Discord,* January 20; *Much Ado About Nothing,* January 21; *The Mountaineers,* January 22; *Pizarro,* January 23, and *Hamlet,* his benefit, January 27. This shows three Shakespeare plays, three performances of two German plays. It appears from this that the leading visiting actors nearly always offered in their repertoire

[267] Cf. p. 12, where, however, no description is given of the rebuilt theatre.
[268] Cf. p. 13.
[269] Cf. season 1808-1809, pp. 107 and 138.

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several plays of German origin with the usual Shakespeare plays, giving them thus an importance which is significant. *Pizarro,* December 14, shows Cooper as Rolla, with H. Wallack as Pizarro; January 17 and 23, I. Wallack as Rolla, with Wood as Pizarro, and April 12, H. Wallack as Rolla. *The Wood Daemon,* by M. G. Lewis, from the German, opened the year 1823 in the season of 1822-1823,[270] and was followed the same week by *The Robbers,* January 4, with Cooper as "Charles de Moor," and H. Wallack as "Francis de Moor." The afterpiece for the same evening was *The Two Pages of Frederick the Great,* a German subject, but a translation from the French by T. Planche.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Adelgitha,* January 8; *Blind Boy,* April 16; *Comet,* December 11, and April 26; *Ella Rosenberg,* April 5; *The Law of Java,* musical drama, "for the first time in Philadelphia," January 1, on the same night as Lewes' *Wood Daemon.* A partial cast shows the following characters: Parbaya Orginga, Mayor von Glotzen, Hans Gayvelt, his nephew, Penjoose, valet to Hans Gayvelt, Zaide. In connection with this play Mr. Wenyss is announced as a new member of the company. *Wandering Boys,* December 2, 9, 28, January 15, March 22, same night with *William Tell,* and April 23. *William Tell,* or *The Deliverer of His Country,* historical drama (London, Baltimore), February 22, "in honor of Washington's Birthday, for the first time in Philadelphia." As there is no cast nor author given, it is impossible to determine which *William Tell* this was. *The William Tell* of December 26, 1812, has the additional title of *The Patriots of Switzerland,* founded on the most interesting events of the Helvetian Confederacy against the usurpation of the House of Austria.[271] The title of Knowles' play is *William Tell,* or *The Hero of Switzerland,* and appears much later. The title "Deliverer of His Country" is quite common as a secondary title to *Gustav Vasa,* which play also was frequently selected as a patriotic play for Washington's Birthday. *The Phrenologist,* or *The Organs of the Brain,* January 31, and February 1. A partial cast shows the

[270] For cast of *Wood Daemon,* see p. 139, season 1808-1809.

[271] For reference to the various Tell plays, see season 1795-1796, pp. 64 and 65, and also season 1812-1813, p. 175.

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following characters: Baron Ruekenmark, Peter, Caroline and Emily. Of French origin we note *Monsieur Tonson,* "founded on the celebrated tale of that name and performed in London with great applause," February 24, 28, March 5, 8 and 29. *The Two Pages of Frederick the Great,* "for the first time in Philadelphia," December 18, 21, 26, January 27, and April 18; and the melodrama *Therese,* already spoken of, April 16. Other plays to note this season are: *Guy Fawkes,* or *Gunpowder Treason,* historical drama, first time in Philadelphia, April 9. Mr. Mathews, impersonator of a number of characters, attracted considerable attention this season, especially in *La Diligence,* February 26, in which he takes all the characters, and in a number of Coleman's plays, *Poor Gentleman, Heir at Law, Who Wants a Guinea* and *Ways and Means;* also in *Mail Coach Adventures, Trip to Paris* and *Youthful Days of Mr. Mathews,* etc. *The National Gazette,* April 1, 1823, devoted a column to Mathews, implying great success of his engagement. The plays of this season show quite a revival of the old comedy, such as *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife, School for Scandal, Speed the Plough, Spoiled Child,* with five performances. Coleridge's *Remorse* was revived for Cooper. Another première for Philadelphia was *Tom and Jerry,* "from the Adelphi Theatre, London, one hundred and fifty nights, now in New York, extravagant burletta of fun, frolic fashion in three acts, or *Life in London,* by W. Moncriff, Esq., author of 'Rochester,' dramatized from the celebrated and popular book of the same title, written by Pierce Egan, Esq.," April 25, 26 and 28. Lord Byron's *Two Foscari,* or *The Venetian Exile,* historical tragedy, appeared this season for the first time in Philadelphia, March 31, "adapted to the stage by a lady of Philadelphia."

Shakespeare is represented by *Catharine and Petrucchio,* February 14; *Coriolanus,* January 18 (I. Wallack); *Hamlet,* January 10 (Cooper), January 29 (I. Wallack); *Henry IV,* December 28; *King Lear,* April 2 (Booth); *Julius Caesar,* February 8 and 12, Mr. I. Wallack's benefit; *Macbeth,* December 27 (Cooper); *Much Ado About Nothing,* December 16 (Cooper), January 2 (I. Wallack); *Othello,* January 25 (Cooper), and

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February 7 (Cooper and Wallack); *Richard III* (Cooper), and February 17 (Booth). This was Booth's first appearance in Philadelphia, he had appeared with the company in the previous Baltimore season in *Richard III*, November 2, 1821, a short time before the beginning of the Philadelphia season 1821-1822. The other plays he appeared in this season were *The Iron Chest, A New Way to Pay Old Debts, Town and Country* and, as seen above, *King Lear*. His coming was announced on February 8, the night of *Julius Caesar*, but there is nothing to indicate that he played that night, but most likely it was Mr. I. Wallack. This shows fifteen performances of ten different plays.

Other Theatres, Gardens, Etc.

Vauxhall Garden opened June 9, 1823, and fireworks are announced by Brown and Mayner, and among other things they announce: "By permission of the Mayor the Garden will be opened with six rounds of artillery at seven o'clock."[272] But there are no references to any plays. Stanislas, former manager of the Prune Street Theatre and Tivoli Garden, announced November 14, 1822, at Washington Hall, philosophic experiments. July, 1823, announcements appear of Villalave's "Picturesque Theatre' in Masonic Hall, among other things a perspective view of the most noted and distinguished seaports, animated paintings, pantomimes, figures two feet in height, imitation of the grand opera of Paris, grotto of St. Patrick, Ireland, and Garden of Schönbrunn, Vienna.

The Walnut Street Theatre, 1822-1823.

Wood says "We had at this time underlet the Walnut Street Theatre to a branch of the New York Company under Cowell's management, where pieces were produced and well acted to a long succession of good houses, evidently more to the satisfaction of the public than at the Chestnut Street Theatre, where new influences had now began to prevail." He goes on to speak of

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[272] For an interesting account of the fortunes of Vauxhall Garden and Tivoli Garden cf. *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, articles by "Penn", June 26 and 27, 1905.

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the baleful effects of the "Starring system."[273] It appears the house opened as a circus September 9, 1822, and the pieces given must have had long runs for few announcements appear; there were, however, some farces, melodramas, spectacles and pantomimes.

The German plays were: *Of Age to Morrow,* September 16 and 19, and *La Perouse,* September 23 and 27; four performances of two plays from Kotzebue, and of the possible or partial German plays we note only one, *Tekeli.* New to Philadelphia were *Ali Pasha,* or *The Greek Struggle for Liberty; El Hyder,* a "romantic equestrian melodrama," with Mr. Blyth, of Astley's Amphitheatre of London, and *Irish Tutor,* a "comic afterpiece", or *Which is the Master.* Another popular play and spectacle was *Timour the Tartar,* and last we note *The Sisters,* or *Heroines of Switzerland,* patriotic drama. Shakespeare was not represented.

The Prune Street Theatre or City Theatre, September 19 to December 27, 1822, and the Tivoli Garden Theatre, July 21 to September 10, 1823.

The announcements from this company were very irregular this season, there appear to be long intervals of no plays and changes of management indicate difficult conditions. It began under the management of Morrison and Porter, later in November under the management of Allen. The Tivoli Garden Theatre opened July 19, 1823, under the management of Mestayer and Eberle. Prices were reduced to boxes 37½ cents, upper boxes 25 cents, pit and gallery 12½ cents. According to an announcement July 26, 1822, "a part of the Garden is appropriated to people of color."

The German plays of the winter and summer seasons were: *Abaellino,* October 4 and 5, 1832; *Of Age to Morrow,* September 20, 1822, and July 21, 1823; *Birthday,* August 11, 15, and September 10, 1823; *The Stranger,* November 9 and 19, 1822; nine performances of four different plays, three from Kotzebue and the usual one from Zschokke. In *Abaellino,* October 4, Mr,

[273] Cf. Wood, p. 297.

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Page made his first appearance, and it is announced as the "admired play." *Birthday* appears with a new secondary title, *The Veteran Tars. The Stranger* is announced as the "admired drama," "celebrated drama," with the secondary title, *Love and Misanthropy,* and November 19 the characters of Francis and Peter are each of them assigned to "a young gentleman, first appearance".

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Ella Rosenberg,* December 23, 1822; August 27, 1823, and *Miller and His Men,* December 16. The only play of French origin was *Monsieur Tonson,* mentioned above. Of others we note only *Modern Honour,* or *How to Shun a Bullet,* "written by one of the Fancy," October 26, 28, and repeated several times in November and December of the same year. Of this play the manager, Allen, announced November 28, "*Modern Honour* having given general satisfaction and received unbounded applause, the manager at the request of many of the patrons of the drama is determined to present it on next Monday evening, after which it must be laid aside for further novelty. The manager takes this opportunity of informing his fellow-citizens of his firm determination to give every support to *national* talent and genius, either in acting or writing, satisfied that there is sufficient of both in our country to fill every situation of the drama, for rational amusement. They only need the fostering hand of public support to prove that we are as independent in science and literature as in agriculture and manufactures." December 5 was the author's benefit night, who is here referred to as "a native of Philadelphia." The players mentioned in the partial cast are: Mrs. Smith, Mestayer and French, and Mr. Porter, Webb, Hutton, Mestayer, Allen, Meer and Eberle.

Shakespeare was represented by *Catharine and Petrucchio,* December 5, 1822, and *Richard III,* September 9, 1823.

Summary for the season of 1822-1823 for all the theatres: German plays, twenty-three performances, eight different plays. Plays of possible or partial German origin, twenty-three performances of nine different plays. Shakespeare plays, seventeen performances of ten different plays.

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The following publications were announced by Carey and I. Lea: November 20, 1822, "Valdemar," or "The Castle of the Cliff," by J. W. Simmons; May 29, 1823, "The Rejected Addresses of the Philadelphia Theatres"; June 9, 1823, "Dibdin's London Theatre," twenty-six volumes; "Inchbald's London Theatre," twenty-five volumes; Simond's "Switzerland," June 18, 1823, "The Museum No. 12," E. Littell, containing "The Sisters," which appeared at the Walnut this season with the secondary title *The Heroines of Switzerland.* Abraham Small, 165 Chestnut Street, announced "Isabella," a novel by the author of "Rhoda," also "Inchbald's Modern Theatre," ten volumes; farces, seven volumes.

Wilkens mentions for 1823 "Pizarro," published by Turner & Son, Philadelphia, which is Sheridan's adaptation, London, 1799. The Philadelphia magazines have nothing bearing directly on our subject beyond the play cited above as in the Museum, taken from the London magazine, on the lack of knowledge of German literature in England and one the value of such knowledge.[274] In *The Quarterly Review,* Boston, appears a short criticism of Schiller's *Don Carlos.* There is also a notice of *Mary Stuart,* a tragedy; *The Maid of Orleans,* a tragedy from the German of Fr. Schiller, with *A Life of the Author,* by Rev. J. Salvin. And an announcement of the play *Lorenzo, the Outcast Son,* a tragic drama; founded on Schiller's celebrated play, called *The Robbers.*[275]

Thirtieth Season, Chestnut Street Theatre, December 2, 1823, to May 19, 1824, and Short Summer Season, June 2 to July 5.

The German plays for this season were: *Abaellino,* January 15; *Count Benyowski,* April 23; *Deaf and Dumb,* December 9; *Of Age to Morrow,* December 3, and January 26; *How to Die for Love,* May 7, and June 16; *Pizarro,* December 13, and February 5; *The Robbers,* March 24; *The Stranger,* January 13, and

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[274] Cf. Museum of Foreign Literature and Science, Philadelphia, III, 392.

[275] For matters of general interest in numerous magazines cf. Goodnight, List 530-561.

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June 9; twelve performances of eight different plays, six from Kotzebue and the usual one from Schiller and Zschokke.

In *Pizarro,* December 13, Cooper played Rolla; Wood—Pizarro; Mrs. Battersby—Elvira. In *The Robbers* we find Wood as "Charles de Moor," and Duff as "Francis de Moor." Wood also had the title rôle in *The Stranger,* June 9. *Deaf and Dumb,* December 9, was given as a benefit of the Philadelphia Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb. In only one of them, namely *Count Benyowski,* is the original author, Kotzebue, mentioned.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Adeline,* or *Victim of Treachery,* December 31, January 3 and 14; *Adrian and Orilla,* April 20; *Blind Boy,* February 20; *Comet,* February 21; *Ella Rosenberg,* February 19; *Fortress,* or *The German Daughter,* June 25 and 28; *Foundling of the Forest,* February 23, and June 23; *The Liar,* December 15, January 19, and May 17; *The Slave,* February 9; *Tekeli,* March 1; *Wandering Boys,* December 9, 24, and April 22; *Wheel of Fortune,* December 8. *Adeline,* or *Victim of Treachery,* melodrama, was given the first time in the Chestnut Street Theatre, December 31, but it had appeared for the first time in Philadelphia at the Tivoli, October 17, of the same year with the secondary title *The Victim of Seduction.* A partial cast shows the following characters: Dorlin, an old invalid blind soldier; Kertzler, a gardener; Count Wilhelm; Countess Blanche, wife of Wilhelm, and Adeline, Dorlin's daughter. *Adrian or Orilla,* or *A Mother's Vengeance,* April 20, shows the following cast: Prince Altenburgh, Wood; Count Rosenheim, Warren; Michael, Jefferson; Adrian, Duff; Lothair (Page), Mrs. Burke; Mme. Cleremont, Mrs. Duff; Orilla, Mrs. Darley; Gertha, Mrs. Francis; Minna, Mrs. Wallack. *The Fortress,* June 25, has here the secondary title *The German Daughter,* and from the partial cast we note the following characters: Count Everard, Oliver (Lieutenant), Vincent (Jailer), Celestine and Pauline.[276] *The Liar,* with Cooper in the leading rôle, gives no clue as to its source, except having two characters given, namely Young Wilding and Old Wilding. *The*

[276] Cf. season 1807-1808, pp. 134-135, for more complete cast of *Adrian and Orilla* and *Fortress.*

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Slave, or *Love and Gratitude,* a romantic play, February 9, shows the following cast: Captain Clifton, Peaman; Governor of Surinam, Warren; Gambia, Wood; Mathew Sharpset, DeCamp; Fogrum, Jefferson; Sam Sharpset, Burke; Mrs. Lindenburg, Mrs. Battersby; Stella Clifton, Mrs. Wallack; Miss von Trump, Mrs. Francis; Zelinda, Mrs. Burke.[277]

Of French origin we note the ever popular and recurring *Three and Deuce,* December 2, and January 9; *Distressed Mother,* December 24; *Follies of a Day,* May 12; *The Two Pages of Frederick the Great,* December 13 and 23, and most interesting of all *Clari,* or *The Maid of Milan,* comic opera, translated by J. H. Payne, January 30, 31, February 7, and March 26. It was performed at Covent Garden, London, May 8, 1823, and in New York some time in 1823. Wood speaks of it: The charming opera of *Clari* as translated by Payne, was now produced; and by one of the amusing blunders, which still are common ones, the bill announced all the music except "Home, Sweet Home," one of the sweetest things in it.[278] Some interesting questions arise in connection with this comic opera. Is it not based on some Italian opera or play; is the song "Home, Sweet Home," original, is it not rather a paraphrase of some French or Italian song, expressing the longing for home similar to the one in Goethe's Wilhelm Meister "Kennst du das Land . . ."? *The Barber of Seville,* February 2, with two additional performances; and also *Don Giovanni,* for the first time at the Chestnut Street Theatre, with the secondary title, *Spectre on Horseback,* announced in the extravagant form of "comic, heroic, operatic, tragic, pantomimic, burletta or spectacular extravaganza."

Other plays of interest to note were: *Aladdin,* melodramatic romance, March 19, with three additional performances; *Bride of Abydos,* or *The Pirate of the Isles,* by Diamond, first time at the Chestnut Street Theatre, January 1, with seven additional performances; *The Siege of Belgrade,* comic opera, January 26. Some of the characters as gathered from a partial cast were: Col.

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[277] Cf. season 1817-1818 for fuller cast and description of this play.

[278] Cf. Wood, p. 302.

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Cohenberg, Useph, Leopold, Catharine, Fatima, Lilla and Ghita; *Cinderella,* February 26, with seven additional performances; *Darazzo,* tragedy, first time in Philadelphia, January 12; *Joan of Arc,* or *The Maid of Orleans,* new historical drama, London thirty nights last season, December 27, 1823. Rea in "Schiller's Dramas and Poems in England," says: "The first translator of *The Maid of Orleans* was J. E. Drinkwater Bethune, his version having been printed privately in 1835. This rendering, considerably revised, was published in 1848 in a volume entitled Specimens of Swedish and German Poetry." He also mentions a translation by Egestorff, 1836; a version by N. J. Lucas, printed in Bremen, 1841; a translation by E. S. and F. I. Turner (London, 1842); William Pêter's version (Cambridge, 1843); also Miss Anna Swanwiek's version, first in selections in "The Maid in Selections from the Dramas of Goethe and Schiller" (1843), later revised and published complete in "Bohn's Standard Library" (1847); and a translation by Henry Thompson in "Burns' Fireside Library" (1845); a translation by L. Filmore (1882), and a rendering of the prologue and the first two acts by Major General Patrick Maxwell (1889). An opera, *Jeanne d'Arc,* was given in New York by the "Old American Company" in the season of 1794-1795, after yielding in Philadelphia to the new company at the Chestnut Street Theatre.[279] And John Burk's tragedy *Joan of Arc,* or *Maid of Orleans* (1797), was performed for the first time in New York in April, 1798. It is not likely that this play this season was a revival of Burk's version, it would surely have been stated and, moreover, the announcement says thirty nights in London last season, namely, 1822 or 1823. Or was it based on the translation by the Rev. J. Salvin, announced in *The Boston Quarterly Review,* and so in the end Schiller's play? The partial cast given was: Charles VII of France, Wood; Volianto, Jefferson; De Camoral, fiancee of Joan of Arc, J. Duff; Joan of Arc, Mrs. Battersby; Lucelle, sister of Joan of Arc, Mrs. Burke. An advance announcement called it a new melodrama. Other plays to note are *Kenilworth Castle,*

[279] Cf. p. 56 above.

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or *The Merry Days of Good Queen Bess,* March 30; *Superstition,* "serious dramatic tale of the seventeenth century, founded on an interesting event in the history of New England, by a gentleman of this city, first time in Philadelphia," March 12 and 17; *Tom and Jerry* was very popular with nine performances, and lastly Knowles' *Virginius,* December 6, four performances.

Shakespeare is represented by *Catharine and Petrucchio,* December 8, March 8, and May 3; *Coriolanus,* January 10, and April 26; *Hamlet,* December 2, January 7, and April 24; *Henry IV,* Part I, December 2, Duff in the leading rôle, and May 12, Cooper and Conway; *Julius Caesar,* December 15, May 8, Cooper and Conway, and May 19; *King John,* May 15; *King Lear,* December 22, and March 6; *Macbeth,* December 4, Cooper and Mrs. Battersby; April 1, Mrs. Battersby, and April 28. Wood says of Mrs. Battersby: "Mrs. Battersby, an actress of beauty, became a member of the company and would have proved no mean acquisition, had she been willing to relinquish the coarse and doubtful applause bestowed by a few on her representations of *Hamlet, Irish Widow, Macbeth, Joan of Arc* and other male characters."[280] *Merchant of Venice,* February 18; *Merry Wives of Windsor,* February 11; *Othello,* January 6, and May 7, Cooper and Conway; *Richard III,* December 17, and February 16, Booth; on May 17 selections were given from "Acts of Shakespeare plays," but no particular plays are mentioned; *Tempest,* February 12. In all twenty-seven performances of thirteen plays.

Before taking up the plays at the other theatres for this season we note a few matters of general interest in this season of the Chestnut Street Theatre. On April 7, after the end of the play, *New Way to Pay Old Debts,* "Home, Sweet Home," was sung by "particular desire" by Mrs. Burke. On April 21 "the proceeds were given to complete the front of the theatre by the construction of a marble ballustrade and pedestal, on which it is intended to place a statue of Shakespeare." In the announcement of the issue of a dividend, May 23, the theatre is referred to as the "New Theatre," so also in the "Aurora," while the

[280] Cf. Wood, p. 300.

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announcements in *The National Gazette* say "Philadelphia Theatre."

A communication to the paper, January 13, 1824, signed "Z," under the title "The Acted Drama," is of especial interest: "The town insists on variety, and when the players are obliged to do something new so often, they must necessarily do some of their work indifferently. The strength of the company is doubtless in comedy, and it is to their credit that the best among the comedies are those they fill the best. Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing, Merry Wives of Windsor,* could not be more perfectly represented anywhere in the world than here. Sheridan's *Rivals, The School for Scandal,* Mrs. Inchbald's *Who's the Dupe?* and several other sterling plays, are most charmingly filled by the present corps. But the good folks of this town love crying better than laughing and insist on tragedy. It is marvelous, but not the less certain, that tragedy should be better liked than comedy—but so it is. And in obedience to this choice, most unequivocably announced to the managers of the theatre by the empty seats exhibited whenever a comedy is offered—tragedies of every variety in grief are duly presented to be cried at night after night." In corroboration of this statement we find appearing the same night *The Stranger;* on January 15, *Abaellino;* January 16, *Virginius;* January 17, *Alfonso,* and January 19, *The Bride of Abydos.*

Other Theatres, Gardens, Etc.

At the Vauxhall fireworks, balloon ascensions, etc., were given, but no plays are announced in the papers. Announcements appear of entertainments at the Philadelphia Museum: "Open day and evening, experiments of popular interest Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, and phantasmagora and magic lantern on other evenings." No plays seem to have been given here. On June 25, 1824, was announced "L'improvisatore, poetry and rhetoric united." The Music Fund Society, which had used Washington Hall, was looking forward to going to Music Fund Hall, "erected on site of church lately occupied by the congregation of the Rev. Mr. Skinner, which has been taken

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down." The cornerstone was laid June 25, 1824, and was to be finished by December 1 of the same year. Another "Free and Easy" is announced at Burns' Tavern on Bank Street, "Saturday and Monday evening, upper room and lower room, grotto scene, 'The Bath of Beauty,' tickets at the bar for 6¼ cents, returnable in refreshments to keep out boys, always ready hot whiskey punch." Washington Museum was open in the forenoon and three o'clock in the afternoon. Announcements appear of "recitations, vocal music, feats of activity and dramatic comicalities." Performances were also announced at 8 P. M., admission 25 cents, children 12½ cents. An announcement saying that "the proprietor has re-engaged the Company" indicates plays in former seasons or last season, but the papers contained no notices. Among the plays announced, such as *Rival Soldiers, 'Tis All a Farce, Poor Soldier, No Song No Supper, The Purse, The Sultan, The Spoiled Child,* were two performances of the German play *Of Age to Morrow,* November 10 and 17, and *The Blind Boy,* part of the blind boy by a girl only seven years old (Miss Archbold). On December 25, 1823, an afternoon performance was announced, apparently the first of any theatrical performance, *i. e.,* the first matinee, although this name was not used.

A few announcements also appear of a "Columbia Theatre" at Seventh and Chestnut, in the saloon [281] of this building. "Seymour Aparicio from Spain, Havana, Mexico, with mechanical theatre for a few nights," but farces, etc., are also announced. *The Maid and Magpie, Little Red Riding Hood, Spectre Bridegroom,* and *Bombastes Furioso.*

On the occasion of Lafayette's second visit to Philadelphia, the name Lafayette appeared everywhere, and we find a "La Fayette Theatre, an extensive saloon, South Fifth above Prune, has been fitted up for theatrical performances," but only one announcement of a play was found in the papers. Possibly the announcements were confined to posters at the doors of the place. We note, however, one play of possible German origin,

[281] Saloon is here used no doubt in the sense of hall.

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ferson as Killian and Mrs. Burke as Bertha. Very little notice seems to have been taken of it in the papers and Wood makes some interesting comments. "Much expense and labor had been bestowed on the famous opera of *Der Freyschutz,* which was first produced to $464, $290 and $205. From this piece we expected a certain and large profit. Public expectation appeared at the highest point, and additions to the band, choruses, and other appointments were made on a scale until this time new to our theatre. It was a subject of frequent remark, that this drama received less patronage from the German part of the audience than any other opera ever produced. A gentleman of that nation remarked to me, with some unkindness, that there were more of his countrymen on the stage, than before the curtain. He alluded to the chorus executed almost wholly by them. The failure was not due to want of superior singers in the principal parts. It often failed with star singers. Splendid as the music must be considered, its character and the mysterious fable has always appeared unsatisfactory, with the single exception of the incantation scene. The French opera corps of New Orleans produced a version of this opera with more effect certainly than was ever reached by English singers."[288] Speaking of the Baltimore season of 1825, he says "*Der Freyschutz* was as little cared for here as in Philadelphia, showing the following receipts, $228, $130 and $73. The first performance of the opera in England took place July 23, 1824, and the taste for foreign music, especially that of the German school, was prodigeously increased by the appearance in English dress of the celebrated *Freischütz,* July 23, 1824."[289] Up to 1830 six different English versions were published; among them the Sonne version, prepared for the Drury Lane Theatre, was the most successful. *Der Freischütz* appeared the same season in both Drury Lane and Covent Garden.[289a] In Drury Lane the hundredth performance took place May 22, 1828, and at Covent Garden fifty-two performances

[288] Cf. Wood, p. 307.

[289] Cf. Hogarth, Memoirs of the Opera in Italian, French, German and English, London, 1851, II, 369.

[289a] Cf. Sellier, *Kotzebue in England,* p. 91.

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11; *Ella Rosenberg,* October 16, 1823; June 12 and 16, 1824; *Foundling of the Forest,* October 24, 1823; June 24, and July 15, 1824; *Miller and His Men,* October 15, 1823; May 31, and August 6; *Tekeli,* November 10; *Wandering Boys,* October 18, November 8, 1823, and August 7, 1824; twenty-one performances of seven different plays. As we noted above, *Clari* was given the first time at the Chestnut Street Theatre January 31, 1824, but it appeared for the first time in Philadelphia at this theatre October 29, 1823, and was repeated November 1 and 11.

Shakespeare was represented by *Catharine and Petrucchio,* October 25, 1823; *Hamlet,* July 2, 1824 (Mrs. Battersby),[282] who had become a member of this company, formerly of the "Philadelphia Theatre" (Chestnut Street); *Macbeth,* November 12, 1823, and July 29, 1824 (Mrs. Battersby); *Merchant of Venice,* November 5, 1823; *Othello,* November 4, Mr. Frederick Brown, of the Boston and Charleston Theatres; *Richard III,* October 27, "King Richard by desire Mrs. H. A. Williams." The announcement clearly gives "Mrs.", which may however be a misprint, for with *Pizarro,* October 31, it says simply H. A. Williams; *Romeo and Juliet,* November 6, 1823, and August 13, Mrs. Williams.

Summary for the season of 1823-1824 for all the theatres: German plays, forty performances, eleven different plays. Plays of possible or partial German origin, forty-five performances, fourteen different plays. Shakespeare plays, thirty-six performances, fourteen different plays.

On August 19 was announced *The Irishman in London,* with songs comprising Washington, Jackson and the arrival of the illustrious General Fayette.[283]

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[282] Cf. Chestnut Street Theatre, this season.

[283] August 19, 1824, appears in the papers a full account of a meeting held in the State House yard on the day before to perfect arrangements for the reception of Lafayette. Thomas Leiper, Esq., was in the chair; Mathew Carey, Secretary, and the meeting was addressed by Messrs. C. Biddle and S. S. Burd. A committee of twenty-one was appointed to carry out the wishes of the meeting, and a committee of five to correspond with Lafayette as to time of arrivals, etc. This committee consisted of Horace Binney, Stephen Girard, John Sergeant, J. P. Morris, and Lewis Clapier.

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Shakespeare is represented by *As You Like It,* February 10 (Miss Kelly); February 20 (Miss Kelly's benefit); March 15, and April 28 (Miss Kelly); *Catharine and Petrucchio,* January 9, March 4 (Cooper), and March 10 (Cooper and Miss Kelly); *Hamlet,* December 30 (Cooper), and April 5; *Henry VIII,* June 26 (Kean's benefit); *King Lear,* January 23 (Kean), and June 19; *Macbeth,* November 29 (Cooper); January 30 (Kean), and April 18; *Merchant of Venice,* January 21 (Kean); March 17 (most likely Cooper and Miss Kelly); March 23 (Mr. Cooper's benefit and Miss Kelly), and June 15 (Kean); *Much Ado About Nothing,* February 6 (Miss Kelly); March 1 and 10 (Cooper and Miss Kelly); *Othello,* January 20 and 26, and June 14 (Kean); July 5 and 11 (Forrest). Forrest played five nights, and the plays were in order: *Othello, Pizarro, William Tell, Castle Spectre* and *Othello. Richard III,* January 6 (Cooper), January 18, and February 1 (Kean), and June 12 (Kean); *Romeo and Juliet,* February 27, and March 20 (Cooper and Miss Kelly), and April 28; thirty-five performances of eleven different plays.

Other Theatres, Gardens, Etc.

June 6, 1826, entertainments are promised at the "Pennsylvania Museum," by Mr. Archbold from the Washington Museum, but the only play noted is *Children in the Wood.* At the Vauxhall, now called "Lafayette Vauxhall," musical entertainments continued, but there are no notices of any plays. No notices appear of any performances at the Prune Street Theatre; but the Tivoli Garden Theatre changed in name to "Pavilion Circus," shows a season from April 10 to June 10, 1826; and again at the Summer Theatre, formerly "Pavillion Circus," there are announcements from July 19 to 29, 1826. Some of the actors appearing at the "Pavilion Circus" were: Tatnell, Green, Master Prosser, Kenny and Jones. One German play is found, *Pizarro,* July 26, and four plays of possible or partial German origin, *Ella Rosenberg, Tekeli, Adeline,* and two performances of *Blind Boy.*

Walnut Street Theatre, September 3 to December 1, 1825.

A number of new acquisitions are mentioned: Kerby, from Drury Lane; Hallam, York, Lincoln and Collingbourne, from

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the Royal Cobourg Theatre; Mr. and Mrs. Forster, Chatham Garden Theatre; Master Collet, Ashley's Amphitheatre, London; Miss Aspinwall, Italian Opera House, London; Clown—Williams and Mrs. Williams, female equestrian. We see from the list that the circus performances predominated. . Of German plays we note only one, *La Perouse,* September 24 and 30; and of plays of possible or partial German origin, *Miller and His Men,* October 3; *William Tell,* November 28. To these must be adder, for the first time in Philadelphia, *Presumption,* or *The Fate of Frankenstein,* melodrama, October 18, 1825. Of the other plays we note only *Beacon Light,* or *The Norway Wreckers,* melodrama, and *The Sisters,* or *Heroines of Switzerland.*

Summary for the season 1825-1826, for all the theatres: German plays, twenty-three performances, ten different plays. Plays of possible or partial German origin, thirty performances of twelve different plays. Shakespeare, thirty-four performances, eleven different plays.

No new publications are noted, and in the magazines of Philadelphia there is nothing bearing directly on our subject. In view of the appearance of *Oberon* next season, we note in *The New York Mirror and Ladies' Literary Gazette* a sketch of *Oberon,* or *The Elf-King's Oath.*[295] The daily paper, *Burns's Democratic Press,* on June 2, 1826, had as a news item, that "Covent Garden Theatre, London, was closed April 11, for the purpose of having a full rehearsal of the new opera *Oberon,* by Weber, author of *Freyschutz.*" In the poetical department of the same paper appeared, July 30, 1826, without signature, "The Village Watchman's Song," from the German, the opening verse of which is:

> Hark! 'tis ten o'clock!—attend
> To the counsels of a friend—
> First kneel in prayer, and, then rest
> With conscience clear and tranquil breast
> There is an eye will wake for you! . . .

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[295] III, 397. Cf. also Goodnight's list, Nos. 674-723.

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Thirty-third Season, Chestnut Street Theatre, December 4, 1826, to May 12, 1827, and Summer Season, July 2 to 27, 1827.

This season Warren was the sole manager, although Wood and Mrs. Wood continued as members of the company. Cowell from the Walnut was stage manager.

The German plays for the season were: *How to Die for Love,* December 5, January 13, and March 5; *Of Age to Morrow,* December 15; *Pizarro,* December 21, March 17, April 12, and 27; *The Stranger,* December 4, January 25, and March 28, twelve performances of four different plays, all from Kotzebue. The retirement of Wood from the position of joint manager seems reflected in the disappearance of *The Robbers* and *Abaellino* and also in the smaller number of performances of the more common German plays, while during the short season at the Arch Street Theatre, in 1828, under Wood's management he gave *The Robbers* three times.

In *Pizarro,* December 21, Cooper appeared as Rolla; March 10, and 17, Forrest as Rolla; April 11, and 17, Mr. and Mrs. Wallack had the leading rôles. As already noted the last winter season closing May 20, 1826, had ended with *Pizarro* and *Undine,* and this season opened with *The Stranger,* "a play which, though always abused is always attractive." [296] December 4, Mr. and Mrs. Wood in the leading rôles, and so again January 25; March 28 shows Macready also given M'Cready from Drury Lane in the rôle of the Stranger for the first time, his first appearance having been in *Othello,* March 26.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Comet,* February 8, April 4, and July 21; *The Floating Beacon,* January 4, 9, and February 20, for the first time at the Chestnut Street Theatre; *Beacon Light,* or *The Norway Wreckers* at the Walnut Street Theatre, November 18, 1825, was the same play. The only clue is from the characters given, Angerstorf—played by Webb; *Wandering Boys,* December 12, and *William Tell,* January 15, with the following partial cast: William Tell, Macready; Albert, Master Wheatly; Braun, Jefferson; Emma, wife of Tell, Mrs. Green, March 12, Forrest as William Tell,

[296] Cf. Wood, p. 336.

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his repertoire for this engagement being *Damon and Pythias,* March 7; *Othello,* March 9; *Pizarro,* March 10; *William Tell,* March 12; *Richard III,* March 14; *Iron Chest,* March 16; *Pizarro,* March 17; *Damon and Pythias,* March 19, and his benefit, *King Lear,* March 21.

On May 8, appeared *Devil's Bridge,* in the course of which "Heyl as Count Belino will introduce the celebrated song of William Tell." This has been referred to in previous seasons. The only other play to note here is *Foundling of the Forest,* January 18; *The Foundling,* March 23, and 27, a comedy in five acts was a different play, as it is announced "for the first time at the Chestnut Street Theatre."

With the coming of more operas, ballets become again more common, and for the summer season we find announced "the engagement for seven nights of M. Achille, Mesdames Achille and Hutin, dancers from the New York Theatre (Bowery)." They appeared with *Follies of a Day,* July 13, in a "Pas de Trois from the opera of *Trajan* as in Paris," July 18, in a "Pas de Trois from the German opera of *Der Freyschutz,*" and July 20, in a "Pas de Trois from *Giovanni.*" While on the subject of operas I noted a reference to an Italian Opera Corps at Reading in 1825 and also in New York, but no announcements appeared for any season in Philadelphia. The announcement reads: "The Italian Opera Corps will make their debut with *Barber of Seville,* Signor Garcia, the original Count Almanza for whom Rossini composed the part, as in London, English text, Signor Garcia announces operas of Cimarosa, Mozart, Pascello and Rossini." Other plays to note this season were *Brian Boroilme,* "Hibernian Melodrama," April 9, nine successive performances, Mr. Wallack in the leading rôle. This play was commented on in the papers in full, especially the spectacular part. The play did not, however, pass without trouble as indicated by a part of this comment, "An interrupting, however, occurred at the close of the first act, caused by Mr. Webb appearing intoxicated in the part of Voltimar, but it is understood that this incident will, by particular request, not be repeated." That the general order was no longer as good as it

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had been is indicated by the announcement of the manager at the beginning of the season, "Proper officers are appointed, who will rigidly enforce decorum." *Charles II* was given three times, and then we note *The Fall of Algiers,* a musical play, for the first time at the Chestnut Street Theatre, July 4, also given three times. *Forty Thieves* was popular this season with eight performances. *The Fatal Dowry,* tragedy in five acts, for the first time in Philadelphia, April 4, Macready in the leading rôle, but not repeated this season. *The Foundling,* first time at the Chestnut Street Theatre, March 23, and 27. *Paul Pry,* for the first time January 1, but at the Walnut it had appeared first, October 28. We note also *Indian Prophecy,* a new play in two acts, "an event of 1762, founded on an occurrence in the life of George Washington," written by a member of George Washington's family, July 4. *Sylla,* a new tragedy, for the first time, February 28, and March 5, Booth in the leading rôle, he having appeared so far this season in *Hamlet, King Lear, Richard III,* and *Brutus.* A new farce was *A Year in An Hour,* December 7, with three performances.

Shakespeare was represented better than any previous season as to number of plays: *As You Like It,* December 16 (Miss Kelly); *Catharine and Petrucchio,* January 24, March 21, and April 6; *Comedy of Errors,* "first time in Philadelphia," March 6, 8, 13, 20, and 29; *Coriolanus,* January 24 (Macready); *Hamlet,* January 12, and 21 (Macready), February 15, and 19 (Booth), March 30 (Macready); *Henry VIII,* April 6 (Macready); *Henry V,* March 31, "first time in twenty years" (Macready); *Henry IV,* first part, December 28 (Cooper); *King John,* April 9, "Macready's Benefit and positively last appearance"; *King Lear,* February 23 (Booth), and March 21, "Forrest's Benefit"; *Macbeth,* November 14 (Cooper), January 10, and April 2 (Macready); *Merry Wives of Windsor,* April 10; *Much Ado About Nothing,* December 11, and 27; *Othello,* January 6 (Cooper), February 1 (Booth), March 9 (Forrest), March 26 (Macready); *Richard III,* January 26, and February 24 (Booth), and March 14 (Forrest), thirty-five performances of sixteen different plays.

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Other Theatres, Gardens, Etc.

Announcements appeared at this time of various gardens, Lafayette Vauxhall, music and general entertainments; Philadelphia Labyrinth Garden, Arch below Broad, and also Philadelphia Museum, Mr. Franklin Peale, "over the elegantly laid out stores in the Arcade, formerly Peale's Museum." But no theatrical performances are announced at any of these places, and the papers are also silent about the Prune Street Theatre, Tivoli Garden Theatre and others mentioned in previous seasons.

The Walnut Street Theatre, August 7, 1826, to December 2, 1827, and Summer Season, June 14 to July 23, 1827.

This was announced as the "Last season of the Equestrian Company at this establishment," and the theatre seems from this time on to have been given up to theatrical pieces only. New acquisitions are shown by the announcement on June 10, 1827, "Mr. Hallam has returned from Europe with the following ladies and gentlemen to be attached to this establishment: Grierson, Smith, Wells, Sefton, Mitchell, Mrs. Lane, Mrs. Mitchell, Mrs. Hallam, Miss Stanard and Miss Wells. On July 4, was announced a "Day Performance to accommodate juvenile members of families," the play being *Miller's Frolic.* As in the case of the other theatre we note this season the first case of a play running on successive nights.

The German plays noted were: *Oberon,* or *The Charmed Horn,* October 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 28, and November 3, 8, and 24; *Of Age to Morrow,* July 11; *La Perouse,* August 8, 20, 21, 29, and 30; and *Pizarro,* June 29.

In *Pizarro,* June 29, Grierson played Rolla. *Oberon,* or *The Charmed Horn* (Romantic Fancy Tale), was performed for the first time in English in Drury Lane, London, March 27, 1825,[297] and in Covent Garden, April 12, 1826. At the Drury Lane Thea-

[297] For the account of the composition of this opera for Covent Garden, by Carl Maria von Weber and the sad incidents connected with it cf. Hogarth, Memoirs of the Opera, in Italian, French, German and English, 1851, London.

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tre it was repeated twenty-seven times. Another version had already been attempted in 1816 by Thompson, but had met with little success. It had appeared on May 21, 1826, under the title, *Oberon's Oath* in Covent Garden. On May 12, 1826, *Oberon,* or *The Elf-King's Oath* was given for the first time at Covent Garden. Weber had come to London to have his opera rehearsed and directed in person the first twelve presentations. It was given thirty-one times during the season. Sellier [297a] says that the person responsible for the English form of the German material for Drury Lane's play, *Oberon,* or *The Charmed Horn,* is unknown. Hogarth mentions Planché as responsible for the words to Weber's opera as given at the Covent Garden Theatre. However, the *Oberon* given at the Walnut this season has the secondary title, *The Charmed Horn,* and also calls it Romantic Fairy Tale, which indicates the Drury Lane version, but the announcement adds "Being rehearsed at Covent Garden." This may have been however to win attention for this version. We have noted the same interchange of titles in the case of the various versions of *Reconciliation, Birthday* and *Fraternal Discord.*

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Blind Boy,* June 27, 1827; *Floating Beacon,* or *The Norwegian Wreckers,* August 12, and two additional performances, *Flying Dutchman,* nautical melodrama, July 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, and 16; and *Miller and His Men,* August 14, 1826; June 25, and July 3, 1827.

Other plays to note were: *Bears Not Beasts,* June 14, and July 19; *Luke the Labourer,* melodrama, July 18; *Mysterious Stranger,* or *True Revenge,* Romantic Sicilian Melodrama, first time in America, June 18; *Paul Pry,* October 28, fifteen performances in all, it appeared at the Chestnut Street Theatre, January 1, 1827; *Travellers Benighted,* or *The Bleeding Nun,* June 14; *The Secret,* or *The Haunted Chambers,* November 11, four performances; *Blood Will Have Blood,* or *The Battle of the Bridges,* Equestrian Melodrama, August 21,

[297a] Cf. Sellier, p. 91.

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three performances; and last night of the season, July 23, 1827, *The Cataract of the Ganges,* Mr. Cowell's Benefit.

Shakespeare was represented by only one performance, *Richard III,* November 14, 1826.

Summary for the season 1826-1827 for all the theatres: German plays, thirty-one performances, six different plays. Plays of possible or partial German origin, twenty-two performances, eight different plays.

There were references in the daily papers this season to various publications, such as to Roscoe's [298] "German Novelists," from the January number of the *Museum,*[299] this being from the *London Monthly Review.* Other books announced were: Dibdin's "Autobiography," the "Plays of Ford" and "Memoirs of O'Keefe." The Acting American Theatre, including: 1, *Wild Oats,* with portrait of Mr. Francis; 2, *Much Ado About Nothing,* with portrait of Miss Kelly; 3, *Superstition,* with portrait of Mrs. Duff; 4, *Old Maid,* with portrait of Mrs. Francis; 5, *Marmion,* with portrait of Mr. Duff; 6, *Honeymoon,* with portrait of Mr. Wemyss; 7, *Isabella,* with portrait of Mrs. Barnes; 8, *School for Reform,* with portrait of Hilsen; 9, *Turnpike Gate,* with portrait of Cowell; 10, *Sweethearts and Wives,* with portrait of Mrs. Barnes; 11, *Pizarro,* with portrait of Wood. The Mercantile Library announced having received Russell's "Tour in Germany and Austria, 1820-22."[300] Lea and Casey announced July 28, 1827, "Cumberland's British Theatre," with remarks, biographical and critical, printed from acting copies as performed at the Theatre Royal, London. The same house also announced a "Treatise in Gymnastics," chiefly from the German of F. L. Jahn, by Dr. Charles Beck, of Northampton. *The American Quarterly Review,* Philadelphia,[301] under the heading "German Literature," begins a number of reviews of German works. The first is a review of "Die Poesie und Beredsamkeit

[298] *The German Novelists.* Tales selected from ancient and modern authors. Translated by Thomas Roscoe, London, 1826.

[299] Cf. Museum of Foreign Literature and Science, X, p. 29.

[300] Cf. season 1823-1824, under publications for 1824.

[301] *American Quarterly Review,* Philadelphia, 1827, II, p. 171.

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der Deutschen von Luther's Zeit bis zur Gegenwart," Dargestellt von Franz Horn, Berlin, 3 Bde., 1824. Atkinson's "Casket," Philadelphia, has "*The Knight's Cellar* in the Kyffhausen, a German legend." Outside of Philadelphia, especially in the Boston and New York magazines numerous references to German authors and literature appear. Among others Doctor Faustus the legend, also outlines of the comedies, *Wife* (*Die Braut*), *The Green Domino* (*Der grüne Domino*), *The Watchman* (*Der Nachtwächter*), *The Cousin From Bremen* (*Der Vetter aus Bremen*).[302] "Tales Round a Winter Hearth," by Jane and Anna Maria Porter, New York, J. and J. Harper, contains Fouqué's *Undine* and this is favorably commented on in the *United States Review and Literary Gazette,* Boston. In the same magazine appears a translation of a scene in Schiller's *Maria Stuart.*[303]

Thirty-fourth Season, Chestnut Street Theatre, October 29, 1827, to June 21, 1828, Preceded by a French Company, September 28 to October 20, 1827, and Followed by a Short Season, July 3 to July 18, 1828.

The French company from New Orleans had the use of the theatre from September 28 to October 20. During this engagement they gave twenty-two pieces, and among them *Der Freyschutz, ou Robin des Bois,* October 3 and 15; and *Werther ou les Egarements d'un Coeur sensible,"* October 12 and 20, two pieces of German origin. In the first part of this work, under "Nationality of Actors, Performers, Members of Orchestra," etc., mention has already been made of the orchestra of this French company.[304]

The manager of the Chestnut Street Theatre, William Warren, on October 22, 1827, announced the acquisition of new talent for the Opera and Dramatic Corps in England and the United States, and especial emphasis was laid on the enlarged orchestra under the direction of Mr. Braun (Vienna, Prague,

[302] *New York Mirror and Ladies' Literary Gazette,* New York, IV, p. 241, and V, p. 122.

[303] Series II, I, p. 271, and II, II, p. 338. Cf. also Goodnight's List 724-750.

[304] Cf. p. 39, also p. 68 for previous performance of *Werter,* by a French company, in 1796.

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Berlin and Königsberg). On October 25 this orchestra gave a concert at the theatre, with very flattering results, even after the excellent orchestra of the French company, for as one paper said they "had been taught by the orchestra of the French company to appreciate fine music."

The German plays for this season were: *Cossack and Volunteer,* February 7, 9, and April 21; *Deaf and Dumb,* March 27; *Der Freischütz,* May 16, and 19; *How to Die for Love,* November 3, July 11; *Lovers' Vows,* March 3; *Of Age to Morrow,* February 14; *Pizarro,* January 17, and May 30; and *The Stranger,* December 8, January 3, and February 7, fifteen performances of eight different plays, seven from Kotzebue. In *Der Freischütz,* May 16, Mrs. Austin played Linda. *Lovers' Vows,* March 3, announced as the "favorite comedy," was Miss Fischer's Benefit. Wood speaks of Miss Clara Fischer acting for ten nights this season and especially of her success in the rôles of Amelia (*Lovers' Vows*) and Albert Tell (*William Tell*). The cast given shows Count Cassel, Wemyss; Baron Wildenheim, Warren; Frederick, Chapman; Anholt, Wood; Verdun, Jefferson; Agatha Friburg, Miss Emery; Amelia, Clara Fischer. The papers commented "We were glad that Miss Fischer chose parts, Amelia in *Lovers' Vows* and Louisa in the new farce called *The Dead Shot,* more adapted to her peculiarly extraordinary powers than that which she assumed on Saturday (*Merchant of Venice*)." *Of Age to Morrow,* February 14, was Burrough's last night. In *Pizarro,* January 17, Wood had the rôle of Pizarro, and May 30, he played Pizarro to Rowbotham's Rolla. December 8, 1827, the night of the first performance of *The Stranger* this season, the paper said: "Great expectations are raised on Mrs. Sloman's presentation of Mrs. Haller in *The Stranger* this evening. We regret that the moral sense and the good feelings of the community tolerate the representation of a play so offensive to both. So long as the public patronize, the managers will bring forward this *disgusting play.* Taste and morals, refinement and manners unite to drive it from the boards." And in spite of this tirade, Mrs. Sloman chose the same play for her benefit, January 3. Mr. Burroughs appeared

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in it, February 7, the same night with *The Cossack and The Volunteer.* And as if to emphasize the contrast between what the moralists claimed the public really wanted we note, just to anticipate, that this same play, *The Stranger,* was given three times next season, 1828-1829, and nine times during 1829-1830, the last season discussed in this work, and before this season it had seen about sixty-three performances. The cast for December 8, was: Baron Steinfust, Wemyss; the Stranger, Wood; Solomon, Mercer; Peter, Jefferson, and Mrs. Haller, Mrs. Sloman.

After the performance the criticism was no less severe: "Saturday evening the play of *The Stranger* was performed. We have so often had occasion to speak of the demoralizing influence of this drama, that we shall no longer dwell on the subject than to say, that the combined talents of Mrs. Sloman, Mr. Wood and Mr. Wemyss, called into action as they were on Saturday evening, gave additional weight to the bad impressions which can not fail to be made at every representation of this sickly production. A production the more dangerous as many of its disgusting incidents and its unnatural conclusion are smothered, as it were, in a heap of sentimentality. 'Virtue alone is excellent my Lord'—'There is another and a better world' and a hundred other such abstract sentences with which the play is crowded, good in themselves, but unspeakably dangerous when thrust in as a counterpoise to a story, the whole tenor and effect of which is to make light of and to consider that, as a venial offense, which not only religion, but the moral sense of mankind has long stamped as a crime of the blackest die."[305] The *Aurora's* comment was non-committal, but leaves no doubt in our mind as to the popularity of the play. "Mrs. Sloman played Mrs. Haller to a full house. The concluding scene was affecting in the extreme and perhaps tears were never more plentifully shed at the representation of *The Stranger.*"

The one new play of German origin was *The Cossack and Volunteer,*[306] for the first time in America, February 7, 1828.

[305] *Binn's Democratic Press,* Philadelphia, December 10, 1827.

[306] *Der Kosak und der Frei willige,* Liederspiel (Opern Almanach für das Jahr 1815. It is characterized by Rabany as a "Petit à propos patriotique sur l'alliance de la Russie et de L'Allemagne, 1813."

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It is announced in the papers as "Kotzebue's Opera," but also as "First Night of Mr. Braun's Opera," which must refer to the director of the orchestra and in the partial cast given Mme. Braun is shown as playing Louisa, with the additional remark, "For the first time in English character." The cast shows Ivan, Mercer; Wm. Frisch, Heyl; Louisa, Mme. Braun; Kitty, Miss Jefferson; Puffendorf, Mayor of the village, Jefferson, Jr. The comment in the papers also indicates Braun as responsible for the music. "The music was delightful and reflects much credit on the leader of the orchestra, Mr. Braun. The overture commanded general attention. At one period it seemed as if the whole pit were so interested that they at once rose up. . . ." The *National Gazette* said: "It may become one of the most agreeable operas we possess. We speak here with reference to the music, for the piece in itself is rather 'so so,' and certainly adds no new lustre to the name of its reputed author. But the musical part is excellent. *The Cossack* possesses one advantage over our operas in general. The airs are well adapted to the opera itself and seem to be in their proper places; whereas in other English operas the songs are too commonly introduced without any regard to congruity as to the piece. For instance, we sometimes have a simple country girl singing brilliant Italian bravuras. . . ."

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Ella Rosenberg,* January 12; *Foundling of the Forest,* April 23; *Gnome King,* or *The Giant Mountains,* "Operatic Allegorical Drama, for the first time in Philadelphia," June 10, 12, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, and July 4; *Siege of Belgrade,* December 5, and January 21; *Wandering Boys,* March 5, July 15; *William Tell,* November 7, 10, January 8, and March 4.

The plays of French origin to note are: *Clari, Marriage of Figaro, Rencontre, Rock of Charbonnière, Thirty Years, or Life of a Gambler,* domestic melodrama from the French of Victor Ducange and Dinaux, March 31, six performances in all. Wood had the leading rôle. The French company played in the original French form in October, 1828, *"30 ans de la Vie d'un Joueur."*

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Other plays of interest to note were: *Artaxerxes,* serious opera by Dr. Arne, December 28 (four performances); *Bride of Lammermoor,* March 19 and 22; *Catch Club,* or *Feast of Anacreon,* April 11; *Cherry Bounce,* November 24 (seven performances); *Death of Napoleon,* July 14, "first time in America." *Evadne,* or *The Statue,* tragedy, "first time in Philadelphia," November 13, 1827 (six performances in all). Schiel adapted it to the modern stage, employing part of the fable of Shirley's old play, *The Traitor; Fazio,* or *The Italian's Wife,* November 6 (six performances); *First Settlers in America,* or *Omaha the Red Indian,* first time in America, November 2, from the Olympia, London (one hundred nights). *Malvina,* opera, "first in Philadelphia," April 17; *Peter Wilkens,* or *The Flying Indian,* dramatic romance, January 1 (nine performances); *Red Rover,* February 21 (twelve performances). For the occasion of the first presentation of this play, Richard Penn Smith, Esq., wrote a prologue, which was spoken by the Messrs. Wemyss and S. Chapman. We shall note the rapid dramatization of most of Cooper's novels, this one was dramatized by S. Chapman; *The Serf,* or *The Russian Brothers,* tragedy, April 8, and 10; *The Sergeant's Wife,* drama, "first in America," November 26 (five performances); *The Ten Mowbrays,* March 7 (three performances), all ten characters by Miss Fischer; *'Twas I the Truth a Lie,* petite comedy, "first at Chestnut," January 16 (six performances); and last *The Usurper,* tragedy, "first time on any stage," by Dr. M'Henry, December 26, and January 4.

Shakespeare was represented by *As You Like It,* February 16, and June 11; *Julius Caesar,* May 3; *Macbeth,* April 25; *Merchant of Venice,* March 1; *Much Ado About Nothing,* February 4; *Othello,* April 20, and May 5; *Richard III,* November 5, April 22, and May 6; *Romeo and Juliet,* October 29, December 15, and May 27, fourteen performances of eight different plays.

Other Theatres, Gardens, Etc.

No announcements of plays at any of the gardens appear, at one of them we find the announcement: Grand Promenade and

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Panharmonicon and Papyrotomia. A "Sans Pareil Theatre" has announcements in the papers for a few days, July 10 to 12, 1828, and there are indications that some plays were given previous to this date. The names given are to some extent the same as at the Walnut Street Theatre, and it may be a short summer season of some from that company. The plays for those few nights were: *Damon and Pythias,* July 10; *George Barnwell,* July 12; *Irishman in London,* July 11; *Monsieur Tonson,* July 12; and *Roy Magregor,* July 11, 1828. As we see, there were no German plays.

The Walnut Street Theatre, August 29 to November 5, 1827, and May 1 to May 26, 1828.

This theatre opened August 29, 1827, as the "Philadelphia Theatre," with Cowell as manager. The German plays were: *La Perouse,* October 25, and *Pizarro,* September 7, Hamblin as Rolla, having previously played *Macbeth,* September 3, and *Hamlet,* September 5. The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Blind Boy,* September 13, and May 20; *The Dumb Girl of Geneva,* or *The Mountain Robber,* melodrama, October 20, May 15, and 23; *The Flying Dutchman,* September 4, 18, and 25; *William Tell,* September 7, 22, and October 2 (Hamblin as Tell). Plays of interest to note were: *Hundred Pound Note,* a farce, "first in Philadelphia," September 8 (thirteen performances), it appeared at the Chestnut Street Theatre this same season, January 28, 1828 (seven performances). *King Robert the Bruce,* Caledonian melodrama, October 30, "first time in America." *The Pilot,* "nautical drama, founded on Cooper's novel, arranged by a gentleman of Philadelphia," October 17 (six performances), and *White Lies, Major and the Minor,* August 27 (seven performances).

Shakespeare is represented by *Catharine and Petrucchio,* October 6; *Comedy of Errors,* May 26 (Hackett), he played at the Chestnut Street Theatre January 2 in *Peter Wilkins,* or in *Sylvester Daggerwood,* his first appearance and the fact that he was an American is emphasized. *Hamlet,* September 5 (Hamblin), September 19 (Booth), November 2 (Cooper?), May 6

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(Booth); *King Lear,* September 24 (Booth); *Macbeth,* September 3, and October 4 (Hamblin), and October 31 ("Cooper's Benefit and Farewell"); *Merchant of Venice,* September 28 (Booth); *Othello,* September 14, and October 8 (Hamblin); October 24 (Cooper); *Richard III,* September 6, and May 5 (Booth), May 8 (Master Kneass), seventeen performances of eight different plays.

Summary for the season 1827-1828 for all the theatres: German plays, seventeen performances, nine different plays. Plays of possible or partial German origin, twenty-five performances, seven different plays.

In *Binn's Democratic Press* appeared September 21, 1827, "Proposals by Gardner R. Lillibridge for publication by subscription in Philadelphia of a *Theatrical Journal, The Stage Advocate* and *Green Room Intelligencer,* with the motto, "Nothing Extenuate, nor set down ought in malice." It is announced to appear October 1, 1827, published on Wednesday, weekly, two dollars. The announcement includes a plea for the "Drama as one of the most rational amusements, its present respectable standing, and influence in this as well as in other populous cities in our Union." The contents are promised to be "Criticism on our own, as well as other theatrical performances in the United States. Progress of distinguished actors or stars. Review of new dramatic publications. Biographical sketches of distinguished actors, dramatic authors. Original and select theatrical poetry, tales, anecdotes. Portraits of distinguished actors."

On February 23, 1828, appeared proposals by H. C. Mathews for publishing in the city of Pittsburgh a weekly (German) newspaper to be entitled *Der Pittsburger Republikaner.* Casey, Lea & Casey announce the publishing of "Travels in the United States in 1825-1826, 1 vol. 8 mo, by the Duke of Saxe Weimar, also German stories, translated from Kinder and Hausmärchen."

The American Quarterly Review, Philadelphia, continues in 1828 its reviews of German literature: A review of C. M. Wieland's Sämmtliche Werke, Leipzig, 1827; and Gotthold

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Ephraim Lessing's Sämmtliche Werke, Berlin; and later, a review of Geschichte der deutschen Poesie und Beredsamkeit. Fr. Bouterwek, 3 Bde., 1819; Andenken an deutsche Historiker aus den letzten 50 Jahren. A. H. L. Heeren, 1823; and Franz Horn's Umrisse, etc., 2te Auflage, 1821.[307] The Museum of Foreign Literature and Science, Philadelphia, has besides translations and criticisms of some of Goethe's poems, a review of Wieland's Sämmtliche Werke, Leipzig, 1824-1827, and of C. M. Wieland's Leben, Neu bearbeitet von J. G. Gruber, Leipzig, 1827.[308]

Thirty-fifth Season, Chestnut Street Theatre, November 13, 1828, to January 28, 1829, and April 9, 1829, to May 27, 1829, Preceded by the French Company, September 16, 1828, to November 5, 1828.

The French company had been well received in 1827 as indicated by flattering references in the editorial column of the *National Gazette,* February 2, 1828, when the French company announced coming to Philadelphia again in the fall of 1828. The season extended with a slight interruption from September 16 to November 5, 1828. During this period they presented thirty different plays. The repertoire was more ambitious than on the occasion of their first visit, and included such pieces as *Hamlet,* September 29; *La Sonambule,* October 3; *Ioconde,* September 17; *Jean de Paris,* October 28; *Trent ans de la vie d'un Joueur,* November 1; *Der Freischütz* they gave three times.

The regular season of the Chestnut Street Theatre began November 13, 1828, under the management of Mr. Warren, but he withdrew as manager at the end of the year, and after January 1, 1829, the theatre passed under the management of Pratt and Wemyss. On December 29, 1828, the official announcement by William Warren appeared in the papers, by which he withdrew from "those relations with the public which have ex-

[307] *American Quarterly Review,* Philadelphia, 1828, III, p. 150 and IV, 157.
[308] Cf. Goodnight's List 751-785.

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isted for more than thirty-two years."[309] Between January 28, and April 9, the company was in Baltimore.

The German plays for this Philadelphia season were: *The Cossack and the Volunteer,* December 12; *Der Freischütz,* April 23, and May 12; *Bottle Imp,* January 27, 28, and April 10, and 18; *How to Die for Love,* December 17; *Pizarro,* April 25; *The Stranger,* December 26, ten performances of six different plays, four from Kotzebue. In *Pizarro,* April 25, J. Wallack, the last time before returning to England. *The Bottle Imp,* "novel drama," London, New York. This is unquestionably a play of German source, the cast on January 27, was: Albert (a German traveller), Heyl; Willibald (his servant and monitor), Jefferson; Nicola (a Spanish sorcerer), Southwell; Waldeck (a farmer), Hathwell; Conrad (his son, an officer of Musqueteers), Mercer; Shadrack (a Jew peddler), Darley; Ismelli (a drunken Musqueteer), Wemyss; The Bottle Imp, Rowbotham; Marcelia (daughter of Waldeck), Mrs. Willis; Lucretia (in love with Albert), Mrs. Rowbotham; Philippa (Willibald's beautiful friend), Miss E. Jefferson.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Adrian and Orilla,* December 4; *Charles XII,* or *The Siege of Stralsund,* by J. R. Plumtre, Esq., Drury Lane, London, with great success, "first time in Philadelphia," May 6, 8, and 18. The partial cast shows the following characters: Major Vanberg, Adam Brock, Triptolemus Maddleworth; Ulrica, daughter of Vanberg; Eudiga, daughter of Adam Brock. *Exile,* "historical drama," April 20, Warren's Benefit, Warren as Count Uldrick. *Foundling of the Forest,* April 13; *Gnome King,* November 29, and December 1; *The Haunted Tower,* opera by Cobb. This should have been included in this list last season, and in some of the earlier seasons. It is mentioned together with Cobb's *Siege of Belgrade,* and *Doctor and Apothecary,* as "adapted from the German," November 17, December 16, and May 9. In the season 1827-1828, it was given December 3, and January 18, and was a revival of the earlier seasons, 1794-1795, 1795-1796 and 1799-1800. All three were musical plays, the music by Dr. S. Arnold.

[309] Cf. p. 10 for account of William Warren.

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Wandering Boys, December 10, and May 27; *The Workman's Hut,* or *The Burning Forest,* "melodramatic romance," by J. Kenny, music by Arnold, also a revival of an earlier season, December 26, 27, 28, 30, and March 14, 1816-1817, also at the Walnut Street Theatre, May 24, 1824-1825, where it should have been included in this list of plays. A partial cast shows the following characters: Arnold, Kaunitz, Scampt, Moritz, Wolfender, Bruhl and Amelia.

This season is noted for the number of revivals of earlier plays, for many musical plays, operas and ballets, and also for many premières. Following the French company a number from their repertoire were given, such as *Thirty Years,* or *Life of a Gambler, Les Noyades,* or *Love and Gratitude,* founded on the well-known story during the Vendean War, on one of the tales in "Highways and Byways." Mlle. Deloise, a Parisian opera dancer, is announced, so also the French "corps de ballet," Benoni, Feltman, Cochue, Mlle. Rannot and Mlle. Iacenthe. Ballets and pantomimes, such as *Lise et Colin ou la Fille mal Gardéé,* and *Les Vendangeurs* are frequent. *Clari* is also repeated. While French and Italians seem to have monopolized the lighter entertainments, we have as a contrast the announcement on November 21, "At the end of the play the Seiltanzer Herr Cline, who is engaged for three nights only." We note now the premières, *Battle of Waterloo,* "melodramatic spectacle," January 12 (four performances); *Crammond Brig,* new drama, December 12 (four performances); *The Disowned,* or *The Prodigals,* by R. P. Smith, of Philadelphia, April 11 (four performances). It was published in 1830 "as performed at the Chestnut Street Theatre from the French drama *Le Caissier,* by M. Jouslin." The preface states "many liberties have been taken with the original." *Eighth of January,* "new national drama to be played on the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, by a gentleman of Philadelphia (R. P. Smith), prologue by James N. Barker." January 8, and January 10 was for the author's benefit; *The Eleventh Hour,* or *Sixteen Years Ago,* "domestic drama, first time in America," January 23; *The Lear of Private Life,* drama, December 8; *Mary Stewart,* or *Castle of Hochleven,* "by author

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of *Crammond Brig,"* May 22. The French company during their next season, 1829, also gave *Mary Stewart.* Signor Angusane, Signor Rosich and Mr. Horn are mentioned in Italian opera, *Triomfo della Musica,* altered from *Il Fanatico per la Musica,* May 5, 7, 9, and 11. We note besides *The Beggars' Opera,* April 21, and *Zoramni and Zaida,* or *The Greek Heroine,* ballet, April 14.

Shakespeare was represented by *Hamlet* and *Richard III* (parts) Act III, April 27 (J. Wallack's Benefit); *Henry IV,* December 9; *Julius Caesar,* April 15 (J. Wallack and Hamblin); *Merry Wives of Windsor,* December 30, Mr. Warren's Benefit, address by Mr. Warren;[810] *Othello,* April 17; *Richard III,* Acts II and III, January 20; ("Miss Lane, a prodigy, 9-12 years old"), and as indicated above Act III, April 27; *Romeo and Juliet,* November 14 (Cooper and Mrs. Sloman), January 2, eight performances of seven different plays. On the occasion of another benefit for Warren, April 20, 1829, after the play *Exile,* there was a concert, including a quintette by Schendlocker with solo for the Post-Horn, composed by Mr. Widtl, executed by Messrs. Schendlocker, Kruger, Reinhardt, Widtl and Wepfer.

Other Theatres, Gardens, Etc.

At Musical Fund Hall a grand concert was announced for January 31, 1829. The program shows a number of the members of the Chestnut Street Theatre Orchestra taking part: Overture de la Dame Blanche; concerto for horn, Widtl; polonaise for violin, Kruger; tyrolese song for three voices, Widtl, Wepfer and Kruger; concertino for the clarinette, Wepfer; II overture, *Oberon;* variations, horn, Widtl; variations, violin, Kruger; German song, fantastic clarinette, Wepfer; German song; the leader was Hupfeldt, whose name is familiar from former seasons.

The Washington Circus, situated "on the Old York Road, between Tammany and Green, Northern Liberties," has now to be considered. Circus performances and pantomimes had been

[810] Cf. p. 10.

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announced in a general way, but June 10, 1829, the announcement tells us it was reconstructed and changed from circus to theatre and appears the following season under the name of Washington Theatre, so that for the last two seasons discussed in this work the repertoire of four regularly established theatres has to be considered. A large stage was erected, the ring changed to pit, seating 1200 persons. Fogg and Stickney are given as the managers.[311] Some of the names are gathered from the partial casts, and in some cases actors from the other theatres appear: Isherwood, Martin G. Sites (first appearance on any stage), Thompson, Wells, Haupt, Walstein, Murray, Herbert, Somerville, Talbot, Lyon, Wemyss, Durang, Jones, Newton, Heyl (see Chestnut), Mrs. Talbot, Mrs. Rogers, Miss Wells, Mrs. Betts, Miss Barry (from Walnut), Mrs. Walstein, Mrs. Broad, Mrs. Stickney. The doors were opened at 7 and curtain rose at 7.30. The prices were: Boxes, 50 cents, and pit, 25 cents, showing it to be a popular house, although at this time the prices at the Chestnut Street Theatre were little higher and dropped to this price the following season.[312] Announcements of plays were found from June 10 to August 4, 1828, with some omissions.

The German plays for this season were: *Abaellino,* June 20, and 24; *How to Die for Love,* August 3; and *The Stranger,* June 26, four performances of three different plays, two from Kotzebue and the usual one from Zschokke.

Abaellino, the great bandit, "dramatic romance, in five acts," had on June 24 the secondary title, *The Bandit's Bride,* and on this occasion Mrs. Walstein (from Arch Street Theatre), appeared as Abaellino, and Mrs. Talbot as Rosamunda. The same night songs were announced by Holz, Heyl, Stickney, Kelly and Mrs. Stickney. *The Stranger,* June 26, was announced as the "celebrated play in five acts," Martin G. Sites (first appear-

[311] For a brief description of this place of amusement, cf. p. 17, and also *American Sentinel,* Philadelphia, June 10, 1829, as referred to in note 37, p. 17.

[312] For account of arrangement of seats and prices during the various seasons cf. 28 and note 11 on same page.

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ance on any stage) as the Stranger; Isherwood as Baron Steinfurt; Hubert as Solomon; Somerville as Peter; Mrs. Talbot as Mrs. Haller, and Miss Wells as Charlotte.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Floating Beacon,* or *The Norwegian Wreckers,* June 22, 23, 25, July 3, and August 4, spoken of as "melodrama" and "musical drama" with this partial cast on June 25, Fred with a song, Heyl; Angerstorf, Walstein; Mariette, Mrs. Talbot; *Miller and His Men,* August 3; *Tekeli,* June 24, and July 7; and *William Tell,* July 21 (Mr. Lyon's Benefit), William Tell, Lyon; Gesler, Walstein; Emma, Mrs. Betts.

Of other plays we note *Foundation of Liberty,* July 4, "written by a gentleman of Philadelphia." Mr. Walstein's Benefit is announced for July 13, but no announcement of the plays for that night appear in the papers. *Paul Jones,* or *The Pilot of the German Ocean* was given July 25, and 28. Shakespeare is represented by *Merchant of Venice,* July 14 ("Mr. Cook, of Philadelphia as Shylock"), by a scene from *Richard III,* July 10, and July 27 (Mrs. Maywood), it is impossible from the indefinite notice to say positively that Mrs. Maywood had the male rôle of Richard III, but from the fact that Mrs. Walstein played the male rôle of Abaellino this same season, that Mrs. Battersby had set the example in a previous season, and that a Mrs. Broad played the male rôle of Rolla in *Pizarro* in this theatre the following season, 1829-1830, we may fairly assume that the "Mrs." is no slip in the announcement.

The Walnut Street Theatre, January 1 to April 14, 1829, and May 26 to July 29, 1829.

William Blake was manager and proprietor; the orchestra leader, G. W. Gronlund; architect, John Haviland; scenery, H. Reinagle, Wilkins and H. Isherwood; wardrobe, Scott; stage manager, W. H. Wallack. The prices were: Boxes, 75 cents; pit, 50 cents, and gallery, 25 cents. While the name of this theatre had varied during the previous seasons, being known as the "Olympic," or simply "Circus," in 1827 as "The Philadelphia

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Theatre," it was known from 1829 on simply as the "Walnut." It passed January 1, 1829, from the management of William Blake into the hands of Messrs. S. Chapman and John Green.

A prize of $100 had been offered "for a poetical address to be spoken at the opening of the theatre," but no reference was found to the author of the address or the person speaking it. A prize must also have been offered for the opening of the new theatre, the "Arch Street Theatre," opened for the first time October 1, 1828. However, the second best prize address is announced as written by Dr. McHenry and spoken by Mr. Stickney on January 9. We shall find a number of the same actors at the "Walnut" and the Arch Street house, and it would seem that many went at the end of the unsuccessful season at the Arch Street Theatre, December 29, 1828, to the "Walnut," where the season began January 1, 1829, and we even find in the brief summer season, May 26 to July 27, 1829, some of the same names as at the "Washington Theatre."

The German plays at this theatre for this season were: *Abaellino,* April 9; *The Death Fetch,* or *The Student of Göttingen,* July 27; *How to Die for Love,* June 10, and 16; *Of Age to Morrow,* January 2, 9, and April 10; *Pizarro,* March 2, April 1, and June 13; *The Stranger,* March 12, eleven performances of six different plays, four from Kotzebue, the usual one from Zschokke, and one of doubtful source.

Abaellino, April 9, has the secondary title, *The Bandit of Venice,* and is announced as "Dunlap's Grand Drama, romance in five acts." *Pizarro,* March 2, announced as "Sheridan's Play in five acts," shows J. Wallack as Rolla, Wood as Pizarro, and Mrs. Blake as Cora, April 1, Blake as Rolla, Wood as Pizarro, Mrs. Wood as Elvira, and Mrs. Willis as Cora. In *The Stranger,* March 12, announced as "Kotzebue's Play," Wood played the Stranger.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Blind Boy,* June 15, and July 2, Mr. Rowbotham as Kalig and Mrs. Rowbotham as Edmund; *The Exile,* June 6, and July 9; *Foundling of the Forest,* February 14, and June 17; *Hunter of the Alps,* April 14; *Free Knights,* or *The Edict of Charlemagne,*

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melodrama in three acts, July 1, "first time in Philadelphia"; from the partial cast we note the following characters: Prince Paldine, Albert of Corbey, Baron Ravensburg, Ulrica (with songs), Countess Roland, and Agnes; *The Jew and the Doctor,* July 29; *The King and the Deserter,* or *The Assassins of the Black Forest,* "in New York to crowded houses, first time in Philadelphia, founded on Anecdotes of Frederick the Great," February 23, 24, 25, and March 4 ("in honor of the Inauguration of General A. Jackson"), and March 26, the only characters given were: Frederick the Great, Adelbert and Rosalie; *The Slave,* June 4, and *William Tell,* or *The Swiss Patriot,* January 16; "Michael," Blake; William Tell, E. Forrest; Albert, Mrs. Hamblin and Emma, Mme. Placide, and March 18, "Michael by a young gentleman of this city."

There were a number of French Ballets and Pantomimes, but outside of some plays already mentioned, such as *Monsieur Tonson* and *The Forest of Bondy,* nothing new to note. Other novelties and plays of interest were: *Alfred the Great,* or *The Magic Banner,* "melodramatic spectacle," June 22, 23, 24, and 26; *Cavaliers and Round Heads,* or *The Royal Oak,* "first time in Philadelphia, June 1, 2, and 3; *The Glorious Eighth,* or *Hero of New Orleans,* "dramatic sketch," January 8;[313] *Greeks and Turks,* or *The Struggle for Liberty,* "melodrama, first time in Philadelphia," June 3, and 5; *Rienzi,* tragedy ("first time in Philadelphia"), March 3, 5, and 7; *The Shepherd of Deverent Vale,* melodrama ("first time"), March 9. On January 29, Hacket, who had been appearing as Solomon Swap, a Yankee Jobber in *John Bull at Home,* or *Jonathan in England, Comedy of Errors,* and *Paul Pry,* had his benefit in Bickerstaff's *Hypocrite,* and appeared in sketches of American character, as the Hon. Hans Knickerbocker (the American Dutchman), and in the character of a Yankee in "Jonathan and Uncle Ben," and "Jonathan's Visit to the British Squadron." On March 28, appeared the announcement, "after the play (*Henry IV,* Wood), Mrs. Green will sing a favorite air, the words in *the German*

[313] Cf. Chestnut Street Theatre, same date of this season.

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Language," Herr Cline, as in the Chestnut Street Theatre was engaged at the theatre and is called "The rope dancer and the German Hercules, with gymnastic exercises, etc." On July 4, an announcement appears, "the piece (Hail Columbia) will conclude with a representation of Vauxhall Garden on a gala night with fireworks." From casts at the end of the summer seasons we see that Durang and Eberle were members of the company. Mr. and Mme. Achille and Mr. and Mme. Vestris were members of the "Corps de Ballet."

Shakespeare was represented better this season at the Walnut than at the Chestnut Street house, the plays were: *As You Like It,* April 10 (Wood); *Catharine and Petrucchio,* January 5; *Comedy of Errors,* January 23 (Barnes' Benefit and Hacket); *Hamlet,* January 14 (Ed. Forrest), March 25 (Hamblin); *Henry IV,* March 28 (Wood); *King Lear,* January 24 (Ed. Forrest and Mrs. Hamblin's Benefit); *Macbeth,* January 28 (Ed. Forrest), and April 2; *Much Ado About Nothing,* April 6, and 18 (Wood); *Othello,* January 3; *Richard III,* February 27; and *Twelfth Night,* February 10, fourteen performances of eleven different plays.

The Arch Street Theatre, First Season, October 1 to December 29, 1828, and April 15 to May 27, 1829.

Wood informs us that in anticipation of the demolishing of the Walnut Street Theatre, another theatre was planned and was later actually built on the north side of Arch Street between Sixth and Seventh. It is still in use as a theatre, having seen many successful seasons and brilliant audiences and in later years passed through the experience of a German theatre, vaudeville theatre and Yiddish theatre. The management was offered to W. Wood, who accepted, but relinquished it again, although the receipts were good, on account of "the disorderly and ill assorted company, whom he could not undertake to govern."[314]

[314] Cf. Wood, p. 347, and the account of the Arch Street Theatre in this work, p. 14.

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Wood relinquished the management December 24, and for the four remaining nights of the year Roberts acted as manager.

The theatre was closed, alterations and improvements were made, and from among the applicants Mr. A. J. Phillips was accepted as the lessee and manager. On April 13, 1829, he announced the formal opening of the theatre under his management, describing it as "the most complete in the Union." He announced a short season previous to the regular opening in September, and promised the "restoration of the drama to its original legitimacy," saying he "has seen with regret the abuses which from a want of resolution to suppress, have tended to destroy the respectability of the establishments and defeat the very primary objects of the drama. He, therefore, proposes to establish such regulations and prohibitions as from time to time may be found necessary to check the progress of growing evils, in which he anticipates the co-operation and approval of the public." The *Sentinel* commenting on April 15 on the address written by Mr. Chapman and spoken by J. B. Phillips, said: "Confident that everything calculated to elevate the character of the drama will be strictly attended to, and having in view the restoration of the legitimate drama, he will doubtless produce entertainments suited to the taste of every playgoer. Mr. Phillips is a native of this city, and has for some time past been studying the history of the drama and has been able to discover to which cause the failure in this city is to be attributed." Some of the precautions of order were: "No improper person will be admitted in the pit of this theatre," and "an efficient police." Some of the names during the season under Wood's management are familiar to us from the casts of the other theatres in this and previous seasons. They are: Wood, Blake, Duffy, Sefton, Ischesword, Murray, Roberts, H. W. Knight, Eglee, Jones, Thomson, Chapman, Nelson, Stone and Scott from the Chatham Theatre, Miss Kelly, Mrs. Wood, Mrs. Stone, Miss Rock; while in the short season of Phillips' management these names appear, S. Chapman, Phillips, Wood, Page, Porter, Forbes, Walstein, Mercer, Dickson, Hunt, Miss Kelly (special

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engagement), Mrs. Greene, Mrs. Stickney, Miss Jane Mercer, and Mrs. Roberts. This list is not complete, but such as could be collected from the partial casts given. With the season 1829-1830 a more complete list is given, for by that time the company had been very much enlarged and indeed was more formidable than the companies at the other theatres.[315] The short winter season under Wood's management was opened October 1, 1828, "with a prize address written by a gentleman of this city, to be spoken by Mr. Wood, the new drop scene was painted by Mr. Wilkens, and new palace scene by Mr. Sherwood." As dancers were announced Misses Garson, Lee, and Blakely; also a Mme. Feron had a short engagement. For the short spring season under Phillips' management the orchestra consisted of "German Professors, under the direction of Mr. Hansen, leader." The concert on the last night of this season, 1829, by the orchestra, assisted by Mr. Hupfeldt, shows the following members of the orchestra: Homann, Krieger, Widtle, Wepper, Homann, Sr., Rudolphus, Tragetha, Hill, Schmelling, Cortez, Reinhard, Schmitz, and Krollman. Some of these had come from the other theatres, although the spelling varies slightly in a few cases.

The German plays for these two short seasons, in 1828-1829, were: *Deaf and Dumb,* October 6, 1828; *Of Age to Morrow,* October 2, and 15, 1828; April 29, and May 12, 1829; *Pizarro,* November 28, December 1, and 6, 1828; *The Robbers,* October 23, 28, and November 20, 1828, eleven performances of four different plays, three from Kotzebue and the usual one from Schiller. It is significant to note the bulk of these German performances, in fact all but two occur in the period under Wood's management. The announcements are very meagre, and we learn little, if anything, about these plays this season, *Pizarro,* December 1, Wallack played Rolla. The drama *The Robbers* was given three times, more than during any of the other seasons; Wood played "Charles de Moor" on each occasion.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Adelgitha,* October 14, and 21; *Foundling of the Forest,* October 16;

[315] For this complete list cf. p. 36 in the chapter on Nationality of Actors, Performers, Members of Orchestra., etc.

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Greeneyed Monster, new comedy, for the first time in Philadelphia, May 5, and 7. The cast given was: Baron Speyenhausen, Phillips; Colonel Arnsdorf, Wood; Krout (the Baron's gardener), Mercer; Marcus (the Baron's Jäger), Chapman; Lady Speyenhausen, Mrs. Wood; Amelia, Green; Louisa, Mrs. Blake; *Hunter of the Alps,* December 18; *The Secret,* or *Hole in the Wall,* October 9, and 10; *The Slave,* May 16; *Tekeli,* May 9.

The only other plays to note are *Native Land,* a new opera, November 10, and 12; it appeared a little later at the Chestnut Street Theatre this same season, December 17; *Hypolitus, the Wild Boy,* melodrama, December 16 (Miss Clara Fischer in the leading rôle); and *The Inquisition,* or *The Jew in Spain,* melodrama, May 19, "first time in Philadelphia."

Shakespeare was represented by *As You Like It,* October 22; *Hamlet,* November 26; *King Lear,* November 6; *Macbeth,* December 5 (probably Wallack); *Much Ado About Nothing,* October 15, December 3 (Wood's Benefit), December 16; *Othello,* one scene, May 25; *Richard III,* November 29 (probably Wallack), December 18; and *Romeo and Juliet,* November 17 (Miss Rock?).

Summary for the season 1828-1829 for all the theatres: German plays, forty-one performances, eleven different plays. Plays of possible or partial German origin, fifty-four performances, twenty-one different plays.

Outside of what has already been given in connection with the plays and the changes of managership nothing was noted in the papers. Philadelphia magazines have no references to any play as a whole. *The Travels of Duke Bernhard of "Saxe-Weimar" in North America,* in 1825-1826, continue to attract attention, and *The North American Review,* Boston, has a lengthy review by George Bancroft.[816] Professor Mullenfield's "Introductory Lecture" at the London University, was given by the *Philadelphia Gazette,* May 20, 1829, copied from London papers.

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[816] Cf. Goodnight's List 786-827.

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Thirty-sixth Season Chestnut Street Theatre, October 26, 1829, to March 20, 1830, and April 8, to July 21, 1830, Preceded by the French Company, September 7, to October 8, 1829.

The French company presented thirty different pieces, consisting mostly of operas and vaudevilles. The repertoire included as last season *"Der Freyschutz,"* September 26, and October 3. Of others we note *La dame du Lac* (*Lady of the Lake*), October 2, and *Mary Stewart,* by Lebrun (1729-1807), October 3.

The regular season of the Chestnut Street Theatre began October 26, 1829.

The German plays for this season were: *Deaf and Dumb,* November 6; *"Der Freyschutz,"* December 2; *How to Die for Love,* November 12, and December 8; *Lovers' Vows,* January 23; *Pizarro,* December 17, and March 16; *Preciosa,* October 31; *The Robbers,* January 22; *The Stranger,* November 13, December 24, January 15, and April 12; thirteen performances of eight different plays.

We find Mr. and Mrs. Wood playing again at the Chestnut Street Theatre. In *Deaf and Dumb,* November 6, Wood played the Abbé de l'Epée. In *Lovers' Vows,* January 23, the cast shows Baron Wildenheim, Fort; Count Cassel, Wemyss; Frederick, Forbes; Anhalt, Wood; Agatha Friburg, Mrs. Wood, and Amelia Wildenheim, Mrs. Roper. In *Pizarro,* December 17, and March 16, Wood had the rôle of Pizarro, on the last date to Forbes' Rolla. In *The Robbers,* January, the cast shows Pelby as "Charles de Moor," and Forbes as "Francis de Moor," and Mrs. Wood as Amelia.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *All in the Dark,* or *The Banks of the Elbe,* May 15, and 17; it is called a "Petite Comedy," and a partial cast shows the following characters: Lieutenant Frederick Blumenthal, Rosa Blumenthal, Sophie Steinbach, and Madel; *The Flying Dutchman,* or *The Phantom Ship,* May 15, with twenty performances in all; *Hunter of the Alps,* February 2; Mr. and Mrs. Wood's Benefit and announced as "the last night of their engagement," April 22 and

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28; *Jew and Doctor,* February 27, and March 3; *Presumption,* or *The Fate of Frankenstein,* June 10, and 11; included in the night of June 10 was the Song of the Poachers, which we shall find in the repertoire of the Arch Street Theatre. *The Secret,* or *The Hole in the Wall,* April 28, 30, and May 25; *Self-Sacrifice,* or *The Maid of the Cottage,* May 20, and 21. From the partial cast we note the following characters: Count Valmore, Marquis Leone, Schwitzer, Schultz, Ida (the Maid of the Cottage), and Lisette. *Wandering Boys,* May 27; *Wheel of Fortune,* October 29; *The White Eagle,* or *Lionel, Prince of Saxony,* drama, "first time in Philadelphia, success in London." Some of the characters are: Lionel, Von Beriot, Michael Miller, De Weltz, Simon Hemmel, Countess Elvira Rotalda, and Christabella. *William Tell,* or *The Hero of Switzerland,* February 1; Pelby as Tell and Forbes as Gessler, Mrs. Greene as Emma, and Miss Turner as Albert. *Woodman's Hut,* December 11, 18, and January 28; *Youthful Queen,* or *Christina of Sweden,* drama, "first time in Philadelphia," March 11, 12, and May 5. The following characters are indicated: Count d'Oxenstiern, Burry, Steinberg, and Christina. *Youthful Days of Frederick the Great,* May 10, and 14.

This season like the last is noted for many new plays. Among them we note *Antiquary,* musical play, "first time in Philadelphia," December 1 (four performances); *The Brigand,* or *The Banditti of Guadagnola,* melodramatic romance, "first time in Philadelphia," May 22 (fifteen performances); *Correnza, the Mountain Robber,* melodrama, July 3; two new plays of R. P. Smith, author of *Eighth of January, Deformed,* or *Woman's Trial,* February 4 (four performances), and *Disowned,* or *The Prodigals,* December 16 and 22. In connection with the *Deformed,* the announcement appears: "The manager, ever anxious to encourage native talent, begs leave to inform his fellow-citizens that greatest care has been bestowed on the present drama." A critic in the paper says, the *Deformed* is constructed on model of the old English drama and expresses the regret that "our countrymen venture so seldom on the stage."

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Another reference says: "Obligations to Decker from whom he has borrowed materials for one division of his double plot were to have been acknowledged in a prologue, which, however, was not prepared in time, so he will be called upon to defend himself against plagiarism from a New York writer. Decker's play, which modern manners do not permit me to name, was laid under contribution very freely, by Dunlap, of New York, in his *Italian Father.*" *Epicharis,* historical tragedy, "first time in Philadelphia," April 17; *Executioner of Amsterdam,* June 8 and 9; *Fairy of the North Star,* "Tale of Enchantment," July 3; the *First of May,* or *A Royal Love Match,* petite comedy, "first time in America," January 7 (five performances); *Fifteen Years of a Drunkard's Life,* first time in America, December 28, and January 1, no doubt suggested by *Thirty Years of a Gambler's Life. House of Aspen* (based on Scott), March 11 and 12;[316a] *John Overy,* or *The Miser of Southwark Ferry,* musical drama, "first time in Philadelphia," April 21 (four performances); *John of Paris,* comic opera, "first time in Philadelphia," in English, for the French company had given *Jean de Paris,* October 5, 1827; November 3 (eight performances); *Lear of Private Life* was repeated this season July 8 and 10; *Married Bachelor,* October 30; *Pottsville,* or *Coals, no Diamonds,* "humorous sketch on the coal mania," July 1 and 2; *Richelieu,* by J. H. Payne, "first time in America," November 16 and 18; *Tom and Jerry,* "extravaganza burletta," as altered and revived by Pierce Egan, March 2 (eleven performances); *Vidocq,* drama of peculiar nature, founded on the memoirs of Vidocq, the secret agent of the French police, February 17 (six performances). Various lighter entertainments occur between the plays, such as pantomimes, including a living skeleton and acts of ventriloquism, in which Mr. Holland is especially mentioned. Of French origin we note besides those already mentioned above the repetition of *Clari,* No-

[316a] Scott wrote it in 1799—the same time as he translated *Götz,* it is apparently a German play made over. He thought of publishing it in 1806, but it was first published in *The Keepsake,* of 1830 (Lockhart says, 1829), *Life of Scott* (Philadelphia, 1837), vol. I, 169-190, 202—also *Scott's Familiar Letters,* I-104, wherein Joanna Baillie, about 1808, criticizes the play in MS. (I am indebted to Dr. J. E. Haney for this note).

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vember 28; and a new romantic spectacle, *Rose d'Amour and Rudolf the Wolf* (the success of Covent Garden), December 25 (nine performances).

Shakespeare was represented by *Catharine and Petrucchio,* February 20 (Booth and Pelby); *Coriolanus,* November 4 (Cooper); *Hamlet,* January 16 (Booth), February 8 (Pelby); March 3, Act III, the night's entertainment consisted of selections of most favored plays, *Brutus,* Act V; *Damon and Pythias,* Act IV, and *Hamlet,* Act III (Pelby, Booth, and White), and all this followed by the farce *Jew and Doctor; Henry IV,* November 2 (Cooper); *Julius Caesar,* February 23 and 27; Booth, Pelby and White were playing at this time, but which one had this rôle on these two dates is uncertain; *King John,* May 1 (Booth); *King Lear,* January 1 (Booth); *Macbeth,* January 29 (Pelby, or Booth?); *Merry Wifes of Windsor,* December 29 (Booth?); *Merchant of Venice,* January 19 (Booth); *Othello,* February 10 Booth?); *Merry Wives of Windsor,* December 29 (Booth?); *III,* December 30, January 13, 18, May 3 and 6 (Booth on all five occasions); *Romeo and Juliet,* December 2, May 8 (Booth); *Tempest,* November 17 and 19 (Mrs. Homan?), twenty-seven performances of fourteen different plays.

It seems that by this time the lighter entertainments had gained a foothold in all the theatres. Ballets and dances by dancers of various nationalities there had been from the very beginning, and only incidental specialties, but gradually and especially this season they seemed to have become a necessity in all the theatres. There were protests in the papers against the rope dancing at the Arch Street and Walnut Street Theatres, and appeals to support the Chestnut, "where legitimate drama has its home." But even the Chestnut Street Theatre had to yield. It is true, in one case at least, the special performer or museum freak had a part in some play adapted to him. One announcement at the Chestnut Street Theatre will illustrate these extra entertainments, which may be regarded as the beginning of our so-called "Vaudeville." June 24, 1830: "The manager begs to inform the public that, determined to spare no expense in order to gratify his patrons, he has effected an engagement of a few nights, the

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wonder of the day, the celebrated Calvin Edson, *the living skeleton,* who will make his first appearance this evening as Jeremiah Thin, in the comedy of *Rochester,* which character he has performed to crowded houses in New York, Boston, etc."

In the same way animals played a part, the dog "Leo," the horse "Napoleon," the horse "Washington," and the elephant in *Blue Beard,* and we see "Siamese boys," Herr Cline, the rope dancer, and "German Hercules," the Italian Cubano, rope dancer, etc. In the course of the discussion of the other theatres these entertainments will be referred to again. Great actors like Wood and Booth had to share the applause with the *"Locomotive Steam Carriage"* and "the largest elephant ever exhibited."

Other Theatres, Gardens, Etc.

No entertainments were noted at any "Garden." At the Philadelphia Museum, "Mons. and Mme Canderbeck" are announced in a concert with a "German Song." At Masonic Hall we find a series of entertainments in April and May of 1830. The names given are Master Mercer, J. Mercer, Mrs. Mercer and Miss Mercer, Miss H. Mercer. Scenes from farces are announced without any definite title and the notices are irregular. Rolla's Address as a recitation is among them.

The Washington Theatre, Formerly Washington Circus, October 5, 1829, to January 23, 1830.

Here also the notices in the papers are very irregular, although forty-eight different plays are noted, including a few given after January 23, isolated dates as late as August 21, 1830. The plays in August are by a "company of amateurs," and between August 10 and 21 they gave three German plays. The last date noted by the regular company was July 10. The company seemed to have failed, for September 1, 1830, we read: "The Washington Theatre, Old York Road, has been taken by a gentleman from New York. It is to be again converted into a circus and will be opened in about two weeks."

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The German plays for the season including the isolated dates, June 23, and July 10, and the short period of the "company of amateurs" were *Der Freischutz,* December 3, 12 and 14; *La Perouse,* October 28; *Pizarro,* December 12, 19, 25, and January 20; *The Stranger,* January 22, and August 10; ten performances of four German plays, though in the case of *Der Freischutz* only selected scenes were given. In *Pizarro,* December 12, Mrs. Broad played Rolla, and again December 19, while December 25, Mrs. Broad played Cora to Mr. Newton's Rolla. January 20, Mr. Haupt, as Rolla. For *The Stranger,* January 22, no cast was given; August 10, it was by the "company of amateurs," a Mr. Bunn playing The Stranger.

Plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Blind Boy,* August 17, by the "company of amateurs"; *Fatal Snow Storm,* or *Lowina of Tobolskow,* November 17; *Floating Beacon,* November —? and January 5; *Miller and His Men,* October 5; *Tekeli,* October —?, and *William Tell,* August 21, by the "company of amateurs." No other plays need be noted and only one play from Shakespeare occurs, namely, *Richard III,* July 10, with no cast.

The Walnut Street Theatre, September 7, 1829, to January 22, 1830, and February 20, to August 4, 1830.

The management had changed again from S. Chapman and John Greene to S. Chapman and Edmonds, in the form of "Dramatic Republic," with the feature, "that all tradesmen's bills. small salaries and incidentals will be paid weekly, the balance of receipts will then be divided among the company."[317] February 19, 1830, the management passed to Messrs. S. and W. Chapman, and there must have been an intermission of about a month. After the sudden death of S. Chapman, May 16, 1830, W. Chapman became sole manager and is again announced as such for the season 1830-1831. A bad financial condition is indicated not

[317] For a brief account of the Walnut Street Theatre cf. pp. 12-14, especially p. 14, for the changes during this season.

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only for this theatre, but for all by a critic of the day, "as a manager Mr. Chapman has bestowed his time in catering for the public taste, with, I fear, but small benefit to his pocket, as these are not times wherein conductors of theatres have cause to boast of their success in trade," August 4, 1830. S. Chapman was also stage manager, the scenic department in charge of Isherwood, Wilkens, Anners and W. Warren; machinist, Lewis; balletmaster, Wells; and the chorus in charge of Hutchings, "Leader of the Band," Milan.[318] An engagement of Miss Clara Fischer is also announced.

The German plays of this theatre for this season were: *The Death Fetch,* or *The Student of Göttingen,* September 11, 12, 19 and 22; *Of Age to Morrow,* July 30, and August 3; *Pizarro,* November 7, December 29, May 5, and July 17; *The Robbers,* June 18; *The Stranger,* October 21, and February 23; *Undine,* April 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 23, 24, 30, and May 4, twenty-four performances of six different plays, three from Kotzebue, one based on Fouqué, the usual one from Schiller and one of doubtful source. In the *Death Fetch,* Clara Fischer played Louisa. The characters Louisa, Pothe and Matilda might point to the *Rovers* (cf. pp. 176-181). In *Pizarro,* November 7, Lyons played Rolla; December 29, Haupt played Rolla; May 5, Mr. S. Chapman as Rolla and Miss Chapman as Elvira, and July 17, was Mr. Porter's benefit with the announcement: "Mr. Peason, of the New Orleans Theatre, who has kindly volunteered his services, will make his first appearance here these two years in Kotzebue's celebrated play of *Pizzaro";* Rolla, Peason; Pizarro, Wood, and Elvira, Mrs. Wood. *The Robbers,* June 18, was Mr. Wood's benefit, Charles de Moor, Wood; Speigleberg, Seften; Switzer, Flynn, and Amelia, Mrs. Duff. In *The Stranger,* October 21, Mr. Clark, from the Park Street Theatre, had the leading rôle and February 23, S. Chapman and Mrs. Barnes. *Undine* is announced as a "grand magical spectacle," and no

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[318] For the complete list of all the members of the company at the beginning of this season 1829-1830 as published in the *American Sentinel,* Philadelphia. September 7, 1829, cf. pp. 36 and 37.

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doubt the spectacular part made it popular and there may have been little consciousness of its German source.

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Adelgitha,* June 9; *Blind Boy,* September 21, Miss Fischer as Edmond; *The Bohemian Mother,* or *The Judgment Seat,* "first time in Philadelphia," June 14, 15, 17 and 21; the cast as given was, Count Manheim, Wood; Count Friburg, Flynn; Dessing, Chapman; Kleincop, Sefton; The Bohemian Mother, Mrs. Duff; Lisette, Miss Hathwell. Mrs. Duff had an engagement of a few nights and had played a part in *Adelgitha, Jane Shore,* and *Foundling of the Forest; The Devil and Dr. Faustus,*[318a] December 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 28, 31, January 2, March 29, April 9; *The Comet,* October 16; *Ella Rosenberg,* October 20, 29, and December 16; *Exile,* or *The Russian Daughter,* September 10, and March 1; *Foundling of the Forest,* June 12; *Miller and His Men,* November 3, 5, March 1 and 19; *Raymond and Agnes,* or *Travellers Benighted,* which appears under so many titles, *Travellers Benighted, Benighted Travellers, Bleeding Nun, Forest of Rosenwald,* May 24; *The Secret,* April 22, June 18, 30, and July 29; *The Slave,* September 8; *Siege of Belgrade,* July 14; *Wandering Boys,* October 13, March 4, and July 13; *Woodman's Hut,* May 25.

The lighter entertainments have already been spoken of in connection with this season at the Chestnut Street Theatre, but they were still more at home at this theatre. We hear of "Double Siamese Boys," of "Herr Cline the German Hercules," also wire walker, "on wheelbarrow from stage to gallery"; Italian rope dances with Signor Cubano, in a scene of *Indian Hunter,* the horse "George Washington," and April 28, the horse "Napoleon," will perform the part of a domestic. May 15, "in the last scene (National Drama, *Railroad*) will be introduced the Locomotive Steam Carriage." But one announcement must be given in full to illustrate how excellent actors had to compete with animals as "Stars." June 16, "Mr. W. Chapman, ever anx-

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[318a] For an account of this play see the Arch Street Theatre for this season.

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ious to please and gratify his friends, begs leave to announce that he has *engaged* at a very great expense the *Largest Elephant* ever exhibited in this country with its young, introduced in *Blue Beard,* bearing six females on its back. The manager feels confident in stating that this is the most novel exhibition of the kind ever offered to the public; Mrs. Duff, Mrs. Wood, Mrs. Greenwood, Mr. Wood, Mr. Duff will also appear on the *same evening.*" Even Booth had to share the honors or was glad of the additional drawing card on his benefit night, June 2, in *The Bride of Abydos.* In a farce, *Dr. Foster in Philadelphia,* no doubt a burlesque on *Dr. Faustus,* the character Old Nick was taken by "Mr. Hart the Fireater." Fireworks displays occur and many ballets, dances, and pantomimes. From the French there were several new plays, *La Muette de Portici,* "music by d'Auber," November 14, 1829; *Peter Bell, the Wagoner,* melodrama, November 30 (three performances), and *Robert, the Devil,* July 26 and 27. Other plays to note are *The Cataract of the Ganges,* May 21 (seven performances); *Gasparoni,* or *The Roman Bandit,* melodrama, April 19 (five performances), first time on any stage; *Gilderoy, the Bonnie Boy,* Scotch melodrama, November 11, first time in Philadelphia (five performances); *House of Aspen,* March 8 (four performances); in the Arch Street Theatre it was presented the same night, and at the Chestnut Street Theatre, March 11;[318b] *Justina,* or *The Fairy's Protection,* opera, first time in America, May 18, 19 and 20; *Little Hunchback,* "new piece altered from O'Keefe, taken from the Arabian Nights entertainment," March 10 (twelve performances); *Love and Poetry,* or *A Modern Genius Born,* in five acts, by Dr. James McHenry, December 5, 8 and 23; *Masaniello,* or *The Fisherman of Naples,* historical drama, first time in Philadelphia, founded on the revolution in Naples, 1666, now performing at Amsterdam, Moscow, London, Paris and New York, five hundred nights in Paris, two hundred nights in London, November 14, 16, 17, and February 27; *Pocahontas,* the new drama, January 15 (five performances). There were several plays with this title, one by John

[318b] Cf. note 316.[a]

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Brougham, Esq., and another by S. H. M. Byers, but this was by Charles Burke, author of *Railroad* and *Pawnee Chief*. It had the secondary title, *The Settlers of Virginia,* and is called a national drama. The title page states "as performed at the Walnut Street Theatre twelve nights with great success."[319] The announcements in the papers were very irregular between January 19, and February 20, 1830, and *Pocahontas* must have been given on seven nights between these dates. I have noted only two plays for the twenty-seven nights between January 19, and February 20. The announcement, however, on February 19, of the opening under the management of S. and W. Chapman indicates that the theatre was closed for part of this period. Other plays of interest were: *Presumptive Evidence,* melodrama, for the first time in America, September 25, 1829 (three performances); it appeared also at the Chestnut Street Theatre, July 19, 1830; *Rip Van Winkle,* or *The Demons of the Catskill Mountains,* a national drama in two acts, by John Kerr, author of *Wandering Boys, Anaconda, Fish Out of Water, Gasparoni the Bandit, Three Vampires, Dinner of Madelon;* printed from the actors' copy with the whole of the stage business, as now performed in the London and American Theatre, Philadelphia,[320] for the first time in Philadelphia, October 24, 1829 (twelve performances during the season). On January 7, W. Chapman appears in the title rôle;[321] *The Sentinel,* December 22 (three performances); *Shakespeare's Early Days,* Covent Garden, "new drama of peculiar style, first time in Philadelphia," April 5, 6 and 7, 1830; *Son and Father,* or *The Dutch Redemptioner,* melodrama, first time in Philadelphia, April 26 (three performances); *Will Blose,* or *The Banditti of the Blind Mine,* melodrama, October 7 (four

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[319] See copy in the Jackson Collection, Library of the University of Pennsylvania.

[320] The copy in the Jackson Collection is marked, Durang's copy.

[321] For the source of *Rip Van Winkle* cf. *Literary Gazette,* Philadelphia, 1821, I, 636, *German Popular and Traditionary Literature,* with a translation of a story; Peter Klaus, *The Goat-herd,* the source of Irving's *Rip Van Winkle.* From the (London) *New Monthly Magazine,* also *Portfolio,* Philadelphia, 1822, N. S. XXVIII, 144. Peter Klaus, *The Legend of the Goatherd. Rip Van Winkle.*

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performances), and *William Penn,* or *The Elm Tree,* historical melodrama, December 25 (six performances). Shakespeare was represented by *As You Like It,* July 16; *Hamlet,* September 29; *King John,* March 22; *King Lear,* May 22, and June 23, Mrs. Duff's benefit and Wood in title rôle; *Macbeth,* March 13; *Merchant of Venice,* December 18, February 25, June 14; *Richard III,* September 23 (Booth), January 9, March 11, "George Frederick Cooke, the only surviving relative of the celebrated tragedian," March 30, June 3 (Mr. St. John, first time at the Walnut), June 26 (Booth), July 22 (Frederick Brown); *Romeo and Juliet,* September 17; seventeen performances of eight different plays.

Arch Street Theatre, August 31, 1829, to March 26, 1830, and April 11, 1830, to April 17, 1830.

This theatre is referred to in the papers this season as the *"Philadelphia Theatre."* It opened under the management of A. J. Phillips. The winter season came to an end March 26, 1830, when the following announcement appeared: "The full complement of thirty weeks' performance being completed, the season has now closed. During a recess of about a fortnight arrangements will be made to reopen with renewed splendor for a short summer season on Monday the 12th day of April next. A. J. Phillips, lessee and manager." In the interval the theatre was open one night, April 1, for the benefit of Mr. Clark, "supported by voluntary efforts," and for which "Mr. Clark respectfully solicited the patronage of his Masonic Brethren." The orchestra, led by Mr. Hansen, is spoken of as "composed of the first talent now in the country." The musical department was under the direction of Walton, and the scenic department under H. Warren and Carr. Coyle was announced as coming "from London to produce splendid spectacles."[322]

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[322] For a full list of actors, etc., for this season cf. p. 39.

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The German plays of this theatre for this season were: *The Death Fetch,* or *The Student of Göttingen,* September 11, 12, 18, and January 28; *How to Die for Love,* April 16; *Lovers' Vows,* October 13; *Of Age to Morrow,* November 11, 26, 30, December 15, 23; *Pizarro,* September 14, November 19, 28, February 5, March 20; *The Poachers,* or *Guilty and Not Guilty,* December 14, 19, 30, January 15, February 15; *The Stranger,* December 4, twenty-two performances of seven different plays, six from Kotzebue, and one of doubtful source.

The Death Fetch, or *The Student of Göttingen,* as we have seen, was given four times at the Walnut Street Theatre this same season, and was given here for the first time in Philadelphia, July 29, 1829. On two of the dates of this season, September 11 and 12, the play was given both at the Arch Street Theatre and the Walnut, September 18, at the Arch, and September 19, at the Walnut. The cast shows the following characters: Ebert, Ludolph, Hans, Louisa, Pothe, Matilda; Louisa, Pothe, by Miss Rock, and Ebert, by Archer, as "originally performed by him in London more than fifty nights." The papers speak of crowded houses at the Arch with Edwin Forrest. He appeared as Frederic in *Of Age to Morrow,* November 20, and as Rolla in *Pizarro,* September 14, and November 19. On November 28, Copeland (Philadelphia), "first time on any stage," played Rolla, and March 20, we find Clarke in this rôle. In *Lovers' Vows,* October 18, Murdock played Frederic. The one new German play for this season was *The Poachers,*[828] or *Guilty and Not Guilty.* It was given for the first time in Philadelphia, December 14, and saw five performances in all during the season. This is the last Kotzebue play prepared for the English stage and appeared for the first time in Covent Garden, February 6, 1824, with thirteen performances during the season. The papers spoke of it as a complete success. It was given frequently during the following years and was still in the repertoire in 1830. Another

[828] *Rehbock, oder die schuldlosen Schuldbewussten, Lustspiel in drei Akten,* Leipzig, 1815. This should not be confounded with *Guilty or Not Guilty,* by Dibdin, Haymarket, London, 1804, founded on *The Reprobate,* a German novel by La Fontaine. Biogr. Dram. II, p. 274, N. 162.

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version of it with the title *The Roebuck* had appeared earlier at the Surrey Theatre, and continued to be played alongside of *The Poachers.*[324]

The plays of possible or partial German origin were: *Foundling of the Forest,* March 23; *Faustus,* December 16, for the first time at the Arch Street Theatre, and followed by twenty-four performances between this date and February 3, 1830. It had appeared at the Walnut Street Theatre first on December 12, of this same season with a run of sixteen performances, some alternating, and at least nine performances on the same nights as given at the Arch Street Theatre, so that at the two theatres together there were forty-one performances of this drama during the season. At the Walnut it was announced as the *Devil and Dr. Faustus,* and the partial cast shows it to have been the same version as given at the Arch Street Theatre, though not staged so elaborately. At the latter house it was announced simply as *Faustus,* romantic drama, original music, only copy in this country. Drury Lane, London, and Park, New York.

From the beginning of the season great preparations had been made, and "great pains bestowed to render it worthy the attention of artists, critics and connoisseurs in painting, poetry and music." Outline of scenes and cast is given as follows:

Faustus, Archer; Mephistopheles, Jervis.

Scene 1. Romantic and authentic view of the Drachenfels at sunset; chorus of fishermen, "Home! there 's a storm in the whistling blast"; chorus of hunters, "The Wild Bird is rocking in his nest"; chorus of peasants, "Now for the Fireside's cheerful blaze"; grand chorus, "Home! Home!" chorus of fiends beneath the earth, "He comes! he comes!" Sudden appearance of the Demon. Scene sinks and characters transported to Carnival and Rialto of Venice. Count di Cassanova, father of Rosalia; Fischer, Count Orsino, in love with Adine; Hazard, Rosalia; Miss Coleman, Adine; Miss A. Fischer. Scene sinks and Faust and Adine among ruins of an ancient monastery by moonlight.

[324] For minor differences between the original and the English version cf. Sellier, pp. 83 and 84.

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Scene 4. Exterior of inn, distant view of town and cathedral. Song: "The Field of Glory." Montolio, Walton, Wagner (pupil of Faustus), Andrews; Antonio, Murray, "I'm a young German Scholar."

Scene 5. Interior of the Inn Grognese, innkeeper, Read; Lucetta, daughter, Mrs. Franklin; Bravillo, Durang (first time at the Arch).

Scene 6. Street in Venice. Exterior of Count do Cassanova's mansion. Act concludes with death of Enrico.

Scene 7. Palace of Faustus, distant view of massive building, lake and fountain.

Scene 8. Grand garden of Faustus.

Scene 9. Massive Gothic interior, Faustus raises visions.

Scene 10. Faustus' Palace, spirits do his bidding. Interior of cemetery, changes to interior of monastery. Bay of Naples.

Scene 14. Interior of dungeon, changes to antichamber of King of Naples. Faustus becomes King of Naples.

Scene 15. Street in Naples.

Scene 16. Audience chamber of the King.

Last scene. Magnificent view of pandemonium. Faustus meets his merited doom.

On February 3, the last performance of the season, three different actors had the rôle of Mephistopheles, in Act I, Jervis; in Act II, Coyle, and in Act III, Clarke.

Other plays were: *The Secret,* or *The Hole in the Wall,* October 8; *The Slave,* or *Love and Gratitude,* opera, October 5 and 29. The partial cast given was: Captain Clifton, Pearman; Governor of Surinam, Phillips; Captain Malcolm, Walton; Col. Lindenburg, Jervis; Sam Sharpset, Andrews; Gambler, Archer; Stella Clifton, Mrs. Pearman; Mrs. Von Tromp, Miss Maywood; *Tekeli,* April 15, and *William Tell, the Swiss Patriot,* November 11, Edwin Forest as William Tell.

On September 22, "the celebrated German minstrel, Carl von Blessin," is announced with two songs; on November 14, Mr. Andrew in the song of *The Poachers.* On September 23, night of *Othello,* H. Dielman, a member of the orchestra, is an-

[88] Cf. note 316.[a]

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nounced as the composer of the overture. On February 20, "between the play and farce Mrs. Sharpe will appear as a Bavarian broom girl and sing 'Buy a Broom.'" On March 21, the play at the Walnut Street Theatre was suspended on account of the "First Benefit for the General Theatrical Fund," held at the Arch Street house. The play was *Macbeth* (Edwin Forrest), followed by the farce *The Lancers.*

Of plays of French origin we note *Clari,* or *The Maid of Milan,* February 26; *The Diamond Arrow,* an amusing drama, for the first time in America, February 10; *Fontleroi,* or *The Banker of Rouen,* pathetic drama, October 21; *Ioconde,* or *The Festival of the Rose,* musical drama, as performed by the French company, January 16. Other plays of interest to note were: *All at Coventry,* February 3 (seven performances); *Earthquake,* or *The Spectre of the Nile,* melodramatic Egyptian spectacle, Adelphi, London, for nearly whole season, February 10 (ten performances). The papers of the day spoke of "scenery and machinery as even surpassing that of *Faustus,* which justly obtained so much approbation for its talented artist" (Coyle); *Gretna Green,* first time in America, September 26 (three performances); *The House of Aspen,* a new tragedy (four performances). It was given the same night at the Walnut Street Theatre and was followed by three more performances there and at the Chestnut Street Theatre it was given March 11; *Knights of the Cross,* or *The Hermit's Prophecy,* romantic drama, "taken from Sir Walter Scott's tale of *The Talisman,* February 10, in which the celebrated sagacious 'Dog Leo' will appear for this night only"; *Married Bachelor,* November 3, 12, and March 13; *Metamora,* or *The Last of the Wampanoags,* new American prize tragedy, A. Stone, January 2, seven performances in all; *Midas,* by Kane O'Hara, first time in thirty years;[326] *Presumptive Evidence,* melodrama, announced "first time in America," September 28 and 30. At the Walnut, however, it had appeared September 25, 1829, and followed at the Chestnut, July 19, 1830; *Rochester,* or *King Charles' Merry Days,* by Mrs. Cowell, first

[326] Cf. p. 43.

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time in Philadelphia, January 1, eleven performances; *The Times,* or *Life in New York,* comedy "founded on our own manners and peculiarities written expressly for Mr. Hackett (recently produced at New York with most distinguished success and repeated night after night to fashionable overflowing houses)," first time in Philadelphia, February 25.

Shakespeare was represented by *Catharine and Petrucchio,* September 22; *Comedy of Errors,* October 17; *Hamlet,* September 21 (Edwin Forrest); *Henry IV,* October 19, and December 3; *King Lear,* November 6 (Edwin Forrest); *Macbeth,* November 4 (Edwin Forrest), December 5, March 4 (Booth), and March 26 (Edwin Forrest); *Merchant of Venice,* October 12; *Merry Wives of Windsor,* December 12; *Much Ado About Nothing,* November 12, and February 18 (Mrs. Sharpe); *Othello,* September 23, and October 3 (Edwin Forrest), and April 1, Mr. Clarke's benefit; *Richard III,* October 24, February 27, and March 5 (Booth); *Romeo and Juliet,* September 2, and February 9 (Mrs. Barnes).

Summary for the season 1829-1830, for all the theatres. German plays, seventy-one performances, thirteen different plays. Plays of possible or partial German origin, eighty-nine performances, twenty-nine different plays.

Philadelphia magazines contain no references to any plays. *The Daily Chronicle* has January 27, 1830, a long poem, entitled "Loreley," a Rhine legend, of which I give the opening lines:

> From you rock's topmost height,
> Where sleeps the fair moonshine,
> Looks down a lady bright,
> On the dark flowing Rhine.

This brings us to the end of the last season to be considered in this work. It is of course not assumed that the German plays suddenly came to an end with this season, the most popular ones continue for many years, some even to 1860 or later, especially *The Stranger.* If anything more were needed to justify the bringing this study to an end with this season 1829-1830, I refer

[87] Cf. Wood, p. 353.

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to a passage from Wood, dealing with this period: "Any *history* of the theatre, that is to say, any history of a continuous and regular management now comes to an end. The drama was at sixes and sevens. The vitality of the theatre neither was nor can be destroyed, but its action was irregular, spasmodic, and disordered. From this time forward, therefore, my sketches are more desultory, and shift from house to house, being confined very much to Philadelphia."

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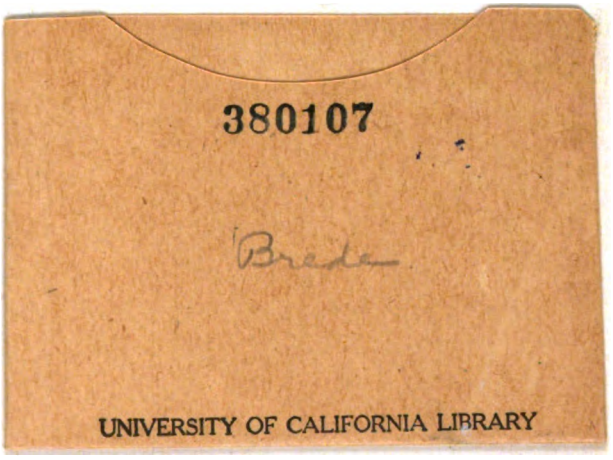

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